# Routes to tour in Germany

Lüneburg
Uelzen
Gifhorn
Braunschweig
Wolfenbüttel
Bad Harzburg
Braunlage
Herzberg
Göttingen
Duderstadt

# The Harz and Heath Route



German roads will get you there – to areas at times so attractive that one route leads to the next, from the Harz mountains to the Lüneburg Heath, say. Maybe you should take a look at both.
The Harz, northernmost part of the Mittelgebirge range, is holiday country all the year round. In summer for hikers, in winter for skiers in their tens of thousands. Tour from the hill resorts of Osterode, Clausthal-Zellerfeld or Bad Harzburg or from the 1,000-year-old town of Goslar.
The Heath extends from Celle, with its town centre of half-timbered houses unscathed by the war and the oldest theatre in Germany, to Lüneburg, also 1,000 years old. It boasts wide expanses of flat countryside, purple heather and herds of local curly-horned sheep.

Visit Germany and let the Harz and Heath Route be your guide.



2





1 Brunswick
2 An old Lüneburg Heath farmhouse
3 The Harz
4 Göttingen



# The German Tribune

Hamburg, 3 February 1985
Twenty-fourth year - No. 1165 - By air

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## Soviets conceding little by returning to arms talks

Hannoversche Allgemeine

At first glance it seems that the Russians have back-pedalled by agreeing to resume arms talks.

In late autumn 1983, when the first US Pershing 2 missiles were stationed in Germany, Moscow broke off the Geneva talks saying it wouldn't return to the conference table until all US missiles had been withdrawn. Half the Pershings that were to be based in Western Europe have now been stationed. Yet the Soviet Union has agreed to resume talks. Does that mean the West has won?

In reality the breakdown of talks in Geneva has been worth Moscow's while. The Americans have had to pay a three-fold price to get Russia back to the conference table.

First, at Moscow's insistence, the new space weapons by which President Reagan sets such store are now to be included in the agenda.

Second, talks on long-range intercontinental and medium-range intermediate missile systems are to be held under the same heading, which is also what Russia wanted.

Third, this merger of the two rounds of talks is bound to increase pressure on Britain and France to stop opposing the inclusion of their nuclear deterrents in any new agreement.

The United States and the West can claim to have had one success: the Soviet Union seems, reluctantly, to be coming to terms with the stationing of medium-range US missiles in Europe.

But Mr Gromyko has not yet entirely given the go-ahead. After his Geneva talks with Mr Shultz he warned, although not too forebodingly, against continuing with the missile build-up and with President Reagan's Star Wars programme, the Strategic Defence Initiative.

This may be seen as the first step in setting up a fresh obstacle. One of these days the Soviet leaders could refer to it, claiming their warnings had not been heeded and imposing a further break in arms control talks.

There will be innumerable opportunities of doing so. What the two Foreign Ministers have embarked on is one of the toughest and most complicated assignments diplomacy has ever faced.

It is roughly as though three teams of mountaineers were setting out simultaneously to scale the three highest peaks in the Himalayas.

In addition to the other difficulties they face, the three teams must also abide by the requirement of climbing at the same speed and reaching their respective summits at the same time.

Three sets of problems, each of which is difficult enough on its own, are to be discussed in parallel. They are space weapons, intercontinental weapons and medium-range missiles.

If the summit is scaled and terms are agreed in respect of any one of the three, a treaty is not to be promptly signed. The three sets of issues are to be interlinked.

The idea behind linkage seems to be that tactical moves in one sector might be used as a means of exerting pressure in another.

The Soviet Union is particularly keen on this idea. It no doubt suspects the United States of having no intention of making concessions on space weapons. If it fails to do so, Moscow will call a halt to talks on the other issues.

None but wild optimists can welcome this procedure or imagine that reciprocal pressure might improve matters. A much likelier outcome is, sad to say, that this complexity of the negotiations will lead to the entire process repeatedly grinding to a halt due to interlinking blockages.

If mountaineers were to be prevented in this way from ever reaching their summit, they would need to be chained together accordingly.

This linkage is clearly due to Soviet anxiety about US government plans to set up a comprehensive system of space defences capable of knocking out every Soviet missile as soon as it is launched.

The situation is paradoxical, with more and more Americans by the month warning Washington the entire SDI is an illusion.

Yet the Soviet leaders are undeterred. They seem to be firmly convinced that President Reagan's concept needs to be taken seriously.

A Russian proverb has it that the Germans discovered the monkey, meaning that if anyone had discovered the impossible, then it would surely have been the Germans.

Russians today feel the Americans might be capable of anything.

One Soviet nightmare seems to be that the United States could some day be able to provide America and its allies with total protection from attack.

The Soviet leaders are bound in the circumstances to see President Reagan offering to supply the Soviet Union with the same defence system as an unsubtle bluff.

They themselves would never even dream of making the United States any such offer. So the Americans *must* be calling their bluff.

Moscow appears to have grave doubts whether its inventors and technicians would be capable of catching up with the Americans. Either that or it fears such a gigantic project would be beyond the Soviet Union's resources. It is certainly doing its utmost to prevent the United States from going ahead with the SDI project. For months it has called for an end to US research in this sector.

When these demands failed to have the desired effect Moscow insisted on space weapons being included in and linked to the fresh round of Geneva talks.

It wanted at all costs to gain some means of preventing the Americans from going ahead with their gigantic plans.

President Reagan and Secretaries Shultz and Weinberger have agreed to play along with the Russians, and clearly not just for the sake of convenience or peace and quiet.

They have doubtless realised they may be able to return the compliment. By stubbornly clinging to the SDI they aim to force the Soviet Union to agree to a limitation of strategic and medium-range weapons.

So sides have been taken for the biggest tug-of-war of all time. The world faces a diplomatic drama that promises to be an absolute blockbuster.

It will last for years. There will be no lack of dramatic highlights. No-one can know what the outcome will be.

*Wolfgang Wagner*

(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 18 January 1985)

**Soviet delegation in Bonn**
Capitalism at work . . . Chancellor Kohl (right) with Alexei Antonov, a Soviet deputy Prime Minister and leader of a Soviet trade delegation to Bonn (see story page 6).
(Photo: dpa)

## IN THIS ISSUE



## Reagan is back for more with plus marks

President Reagan, now installed for his second term in the White House, is the man who gave the Americans back their political self-confidence.

He has fulfilled many of the campaign promises he made four years ago — even though virtually no-one expected him to succeed.

His economic policy, derisorily called Reaganomics by his critics, has been a success, triggering a recovery that strengthened the dollar and created new jobs.

These new jobs have taken the edge off criticism of his drastic cuts in welfare spending.

Higher tax revenue could possibly help to offset the appalling budget deficit President Reagan has carried over into his second term.

He has been lucky, starting with the return of the Tehran embassy hostages when he was first sworn in, which was not his doing but that of his unlucky predecessor, Jimmy Carter.

President Reagan escaped an assassination bid too: seriously injured but still alive.

He went ahead with Nato missile deployment in Europe and disproved pundits who forecast the beginning of a political ice age and an era in which the superpowers would not be on speaking terms with each other.

Faced with the alternative of a costly technological race with an America resolved to achieve its objectives, the Soviet Union came out of its sulks and said it was ready to resume negotiations.

The talks with Moscow will be long and tough, but they do present an opportunity of reducing all nuclear weapons.

President Reagan would like to replace the balance of terror, or fear of nuclear

Continued on page 2

■ WORLD AFFAIRS

# Hopeful signs in the Middle East

Israel has started to withdraw from southern Lebanon. Egypt and Israel have resumed talks. Egypt and Jordan are reconciled. So are Jordan and the PLO.

With America and Russia agreeing to include the Middle East in talks they are shortly to resume, there would seem to be hopes of progress toward peace in the region this year.

Changes there have undeniably been, but they are like a screen behind which the real problems remain unsolved.

The Israeli withdrawal is essential if the Lebanese are to be given another opportunity of running their own country. But how real is this opportunity?

The Syrians have yet to even consider withdrawing from Lebanon as the Israelis have done; they are staying put as an occupying power.

And will the Lebanese Army succeed in guaranteeing in the south of the country the peace and quiet Israel needs if it is to safeguard its northern border?

Given the relentless feuds between the various commúnities in Lebanon, this seems an extremely doubtful proposition.

Israeli forces invaded Lebanon in June 1982 with the declared aim of "peace for Galilee." They succeeded in defeating the PLO and routing what was left of its units, but not in establishing peace.

They are now abandoning the operation largely because of growing domestic pressure. The hundreds of soldiers killed and hundreds of millions the occupation has cost have come to be seen as an almost intolerable burden on Israel and its people.

Yet Israelis in northern Galilee are already upset, fearing they may soon have to seek the safety of air raid shelters as rockets and grenades pound their towns and villages again.

If these raids are resumed from Lebanon, Israel has reserved the right to hit back, and the mere fact that a fresh invasion of Lebanon is expressly envisaged as a contingency amply shows how fragile the present arrangement is.

Cairo broke off ties with Jerusalem on account of the Israeli invasion of Lebanon. Delegations are now to meet again.

This may indicate an improvement in the icy climate of ties between two countries that were the first in the Middle East to make peace with each other. But it need be no more.

They are to discuss a small strip of land only a square kilometre in size on the Gulf of Aqaba that the Israelis failed to return to Egypt when they withdrew from Sinai.

They have yet to agree to discuss the crucial issue of autonomy for Palestinian in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip.

Jerusalem, especially Prime Minister Peres, who is a more flexible tactician than his predecessors Mr Begin and Mr Shamir, is unlikely to see any real prospect of making greater headway with Cairo on this issue.

So the more circumspect Israelis are banking more on King Hussein of Jordan, who is constantly being invited to attend talks.

It would be rash to hope the reconciliation between erstwhile arch-enemies King Hussein and PLO leader Yasser Arafat might have been in answer to these invitations.

The same applies to expectations that the Jordanian and PLO leaders might soon attempt, despite pressure exerted by the Syrians and the Palestinian extremists they control, to negotiate a peace settlement with Israel.

As long as Mr Arafat continues to laud armed struggle against Israel as the only realistic course of action, Israel rightly refuses to believe the more peaceful statements he makes on other occasions.

And as long as Israel continues to set up new Jewish settlements in the West Bank, the Arabs are not going to believe it when it says everything other than Jerusalem is negotiable.

Threats by the one side and creeping annexation by the other merely make both revert even more obdurately to positions of old.

Besides, the new pact between Egypt and Jordan (the old one came to an end after Camp David) is not necessarily good news for Israel.

Even with Egyptian backing King Hussein is unlikely to feel emboldened to run the risk of a rapprochement with Israel as long as he lacks the PLO's explicit approval.

Tough Jordanian demands are more likely to find their way into the negotiating position taken up by Cairo once (and always assuming) its talks with Jerusalem get round to Palestinian autonomy again.

No-one need expect miracles in the Holy Land to result from Washington and Moscow having agreed to discuss the Middle East.

First, they have agreed only to discuss matters, not to negotiate. Second, they could mean the Gulf War between Iran and Iraq rather than Israel and the Arabs.

Third and last, both superpowers have so many interests of their own in the region that they will be hard to reconcile with the interests of the many parties to the conflict.

The Americans, even though they are Israel's protecting power, continue to see themselves solely as potential providers of the services of an honest broker.

The Russians, as self-proclaimed protecting power of the Arab countries, have had no compunction in continuing to weave their web in the Middle East, even regaining a diplomatic foothold in Egypt.

Besides, talks between America and Russia on the Middle East would not be anything sensationally new. They were covertly held during the Israeli invasion of Lebanon, neither superpower wanting to be involved in the fighting.

Changes in the Middle East may foster hopes of real progress toward peace.

But countries not directly involved in the disputes will have to count themselves lucky if there is no fresh round of fighting in this crisis-torn region.

*Reiner Dederichs*

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, Cologne, 22 January 1985)

Continued from page 1

destruction, by a protective shield of defensive space weapons.

Many scientists doubt whether the project is feasible. Yet the mere intention has succeeded in getting the superpowers back to the conference table.

One-eyed demagogues and their naive supporters in Europe have accused the President of warmongering. History's verdeict on President Reagan will be substantially different if he succeeds in putting America's regained strength to use in the service of his vision of peace.

(Der Tagesspiegel, Berlin, 22 January 1985)

# Breakdown of Cyprus talks hits refugees hard

General-Anzeiger

Nearly 200,000 Greek Cypriot refugees will probably be the most disappointed at the failure of the Cypriot summit in New York.

They have been waiting, some in makeshift camps, for over a decade to return to homes they were forced to leave when Turkey occupied the north of the island in 1974.

Conciliatory gestures by the Turkish Cypriots had indicated that tens of thousands of Greek Cypriot refugees might be allowed to return.

These hopes have now been dashed, at least for the time being, by the inability of the Greek and Turkish Cypriot leaders to reach agreement.

UN Secretary-General Perez de Cuellar, himself an erstwhile UN mediator in the Cyprus dispute, had arranged the New York summit in three rounds of indirect talks between the Cypriot government and the Turkish Cypriot administration.

Both sides had made concessions for the sake of fresh moves toward reunification, with the Turkish Cypriot leader, Mr Denktash, being prepared to reduce the territory in the north proclaimed an independent state in November 1983 but so far recognised only by Turkey.

He was willing to hand over a number of areas, including Famagusta and its hotels, to UN trusteeship to allow Greek Cypriot refugees to go back there.

He was also prepared to accept reductions in the constitutional status of Turkish Cypriot territory in a reunited federated Cyprus.

Weighing the counter-concessions offered by the Greek Cypriot leader, President Kyprianou, against the concessions made by the Turks is probably pointless.

Yet he dispensed with earlier demands for the withdrawal of the Turkish Cypriot declaration of independence, treated Mr Denktash as an equal at the talks and agreed to cuts in his own constitutional proposals for a bizonal federation.

So the scene seemed to have been set for agreement on the groundwork for fresh talks between the two sides in Cyprus, and the outlook for the New York summit seemed to be fairly good.

But before the four days of talks even began, the Greek Cypriots were voicing doubts that contrasted with the note of cautious optimism sounded by the UN secretary-general and the Turkish Cypriots.

Was it just scepticism or was it part of the Greek Cypriots' negotiating strategy? Did Mr Kyprianou, with his reputation for hesitating, want to avoid achieving specific results?

How, indeed, was it that the two sides were able to arrive in New York for the talks under totally different assumptions?

Mr Denktash imagined he had only to sign a treaty drawn up under UN auspices that he had already accepted, leaving bizonal commissions that had yet to be set up to work out further details.

Mr Kyprianou regarded the draft as a phantom document that didn't really exist and called for fresh talks on all points.

Did the two men spend four days ing entirely at cross-purposes?

Did Mr Perez de Cuellar, one is ... to wonder, draw up a treaty draft so ... tisfactory as to be open not only to ... terpretation but to being regarded by ... side as non-existent?

His optimistic statement that the ... between the two sides in Cyprus had ... been so narrow certainly had a ... ghost-like ring in the context of views ... that seemed far apart as ever. Mr De... tash has yet to say he is prepared to ... further UN bids to reach a settlement.

Even if some statements made in ... wake of the debacle must be classified ... political poker bids, an opportunity ... definitely missed in New York. It re... to be seen whether, as Turkey says, i... a historic one. *Herbert Lek...*

(General-Anzeiger, Bonn, 22 January ...)

# Bonn President off to Egypt and Jordan

Bonn President Richard ... Weizsäcker is making the first ... to the Middle East by a German he... state. During it, he plans to demonst... the Federal Republic's support ... "peace and reconstruction" in the st... torn region.

In visiting Jordan and Egypt he ... be touring countries political obser... feel have been outstanding for their p... icies of moderation in the Arab worl...

Bonn's traditionally close and co... ties with both Jordan and Egypt ... been intensified.

The President, who will be acco... panied by Foreign Minister Gensch... has no day-to-day political brief bu... is well aware of the Middle East vi... point held by the European Commun... ity.

The Community advocates direct ne... tiations between countries involved in ... Middle East conflict.

Herr von Weizsäcker realises th... Middle East tour cannot disregard ... ations between Germany and Israel.

Shortly after the announcement in Bo... that he was to visit Jordan and Egypt ... was invited to visit Israel.

The invitation came as no surprise ... he will probably be visiting Israel this ... tumn.

The main aim of his state visits to J... dan and Egypt is to hold detailed t... with King Hussein and President Mu... rak, not just to see the sights. *dp...*

(Die Welt, Bonn, 26 January 1...)

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HOME AFFAIRS

# International reverberations as Greens develop a sound electoral base

Saarbrücker Zeitung

Strategists among the West German Greens believe that their party is the ...erunner to an international move...nt of ecology parties. They think that ...h a movement will be founded be...re the turn of the century.

Already, the German Greens are ...ting inquiries from South Americans, ...nadians and Australians.

Green parties, inspired by the Ger...n model, have got off the ground in ...other European countries and in Bel...m have succeeded in getting repre...ntation in the national Parliament.

Material about the Greens has been ...nslated into more than two dozen ...guages.

It is five years since the Greens be...me a national movement in this coun...y. In the 1980 general election, they ...lled 1.5 per cent of the vote.

They are now an established political ...ce and have taken over from the Free Democrats as the third party.

What is more significant, they seem to ...ve established an electoral base of ...re than five per cent of the elector...e. This is important, because parties ...ich poll below five per cent are not ...itled to be represented in Parliament. This applies both nationally and in the ...änder.

The parliamentary arm of the citiz... initiatives, which initially set out to ...sent an alternative to the traditional ...tical parties in Germany, has now ...ly turned into a left-wing party out ...change the face of economic life and ...ciety in the Federal Republic.

Only a year ago, however, the Greens ...d reason to fear for their political sur...val.

Although the Greens had moved into ...e Bundestag, seven state parliaments ...d numerous district councils the ...n-shoe politicians" were obliged to ...ep a constant eye on the five per cent ...it.

In many state parliaments and district ...uncils the Greens have already re...ced the FDP (Liberals) as the third ...rty-political power in Germany.

The departure from the party of one ...its figureheads, ex-Bundeswehr gen...al, Gert Bastian, led to the re-emerg...ce of the spectre of a party split.

The repeated controversies over the ...tation of MPs principle and the issue ...whether there should be cooperation ...th the SPD provided further cause for ...cern.

Many spoke of the end of the move...nt.

The return to greater self-confidence ...me almost overnight as a result of the ...rty's good performance in the elec...ns to the Baden-Württemberg state ...rliament in March 1984.

The run of electoral successes contin...d during the elections to the Euro...an Parliament and the various local ...vernment elections held last year.

It looks as if the Greens can now ...unt on a firm base of over five per ...nt of the electorate.

In their strongholds, the university ...ns, they even obtained twenty per ...nt or more of the votes.

Last autumn, they managed for the ...t time ever to gain more votes than ...e SPD.

Coalition plans no longer ignore the ...nificance of the Greens.

In many areas, the FDP no longer holds the balance of power, and is even finding it difficult to ensure its parliamentary existence.

Speculations about a "fourth party" towards the end of the 1970s were buried once and for all.

Much to the delight of the CDU the fourth party did not turn out to be a national CSU led by Franz Josef Strauss.

The Greens have brought about a lasting change to Germany's party-political landscape.

The party classifies itself as "ecological, social, orientated towards grassroots democracy and non-violent".

Left-wingers were able to commit the party to a criticism of capitalism and the free-market economy, but not to Marxist theories.

Herbert Gruhl, who tried to rid the Greens of all socialist ideas, decided to leave the party and set up the "Ecological-Democratic Party" (together with Baldur Springmann).

However, so far this party has only played a marginal role in elections.

The state must share some of the responsibility for the fact that the Greens adopted party status.

The five-per-cent barrier welded together the different currents of thought within the new party.

What is more, the move into parliament by the alternative groups is almost inconceivable without the reimbursement of election campaign costs.

All parties which win at least 0.5 per cent of the votes receive DM3.50 per vote from public revenues.

Following the election to the Lower Saxony state parliament in 1978 the "Green Environmental Protection List" received DM715,000 from the state, an amount which allowed the party to canvass for the direct elections to the European Parliament in 1979.

DM4.8 million from that campaign paved the way for the setting-up of the "Green party" at federal level in 1980.

The Greens, who are certainly not spoilt in terms of party donations, still depend to a large degree on the money allotted after an election campaign.

The style of Green politics has changed since the party began moving into the various parliaments.

In its early days, the party tried to attract attention to itself via campaigns and sometimes sensational revelations at regional and local level.

The generally concentrated on uncovering environmental scandals.

This approach was soon followed by calls for tax boycotts to protest against rising arms spending or by solidarity declarations for Polish trade unionists and imprisoned German terrorists.

In the state parliaments, to begin with in Bremen and Baden-Württemberg, the newly elected representatives of the Greens took advantage of their ability to initiate legislation.

The "fundamental opposition" initially propagated no longer means fundamental non-cooperation, but simply standing firm on individual issues.

However, the party has only been able to actively shape the laws which were introduced during their brief pact with the SPD in Hesse.

The relationship between the Greens and the SPD was a difficult one right from the start, a real love-hate relationship.

The chairman of the SPD, Willy Brandt, has always been known to be sympathetic towards the Greens, whereas former chancellor, Helmut Schmidt, was the regular butt of their criticism.

Nevertheless, many Greens view Helmut Schmidt as one of the fathers of the party of protest, since his policies ingnored both environmental issues and the extent of the population's desire for a clear policy of peace.

Willy Brandt's reveries about a new majority left of centre are still a point of controversy.

The demand made of the Greens to assume governmental responsibilities is too early for the young political party, whose programme is still very sketchy.

What is more, the Green parlamentarians are faced by the problem that electoral success has weakened the punch of its grass roots, the citizens' initiatives and the peace groups.

Committed citizens switched to the Greens, which had 32,000 members at the end of 1984, and took over party office or parliamentary mandates.

In other cases, the willingness to become actively involved in the party's activities decreased after many were content to see their interests represented at parliamentary level.

To offset this weakness the Greens arbitrarily set up work groups at local and federal levels to deal with individual topics.

Co-operation with their fellow Green members in parliament leaves a great deal to be desired; the party's programme has not become more specific.

The response to the Greens abroad is even more surprising than the party's success in Germany itself — 2.16 million people voted for the Greens at the last Bundestag election.

Green parties have been set up in all West European countries, although only the Belgians have managed to get into the national parliament.

South Americans, Canadians and Australians knock on the door of the Greens in Bonn for advice on how to set up their own ecology parties.

Informative material on the German Greens has been translated into more than two dozen languages.

The emblem of the Greens, a sunflower, can be seen throughout the world.

Green strategists already expect an "ecological Internationale", a worldwide amalgamation of environmental protection parties, to be founded before the end of this century. *dpa*

(Saarbrücker Zeitung, 15 January 1985)

# SPD hopes poll will clear Hesse dilemma

The minority Social Democrat government in the State of Hesse has not entirely given up hope that some sort of working relationship with the Greens can be re-established.

Late last year the pact under which the Greens agreed on a passive "toleration" of the SPD government collapsed over a nuclear power issue.

Since then, the political mood in Hesse has been unstable. The instability is likely to continue at least until the local government elections there on 10 March.

After rejecting the idea of a grand coalition with the CDU and turning down the FDP proposal for a joint adoption of the budget, the Social Democrats are therefore postponing the final solution to the smouldering governmental crisis.

The SPD would appear to have high hopes that many Green voters will show their displeasure at their party's move of discontinuing its passive "toleration" of Holger Börner's minority cabinet by voting for the SPD.

Although the Greens are to be under pressure, the SPD in Hesse has not abandoned the idea of co-operating with the Greens altogether.

This was shown by the clarity of its decision not to co-operate with the other two potential coalition partners, the CDU and the FDP.

The Greens have got the message and are ready for renewed coalition talks with the SPD.

The first pact between the two parties broke up after the SPD refused to scrap the nuclear power plants in Hanau, a decision which the state government is not authorised to take anyway.

The Greens have again made the reorientation of nuclear energy policies a key issue in their renewed readiness to negotiate co-operation with the SPD.

If a second red-Green alliance does materialise, the Social Democrats would again be open to the political blackmail of the Greens.

In the eventuality of a renewed failure the SPD could at best point towards the political shortcomings of its partner in the hope that Green voters return to the bosom of the SPD.

Political manoeuvering would appear to be more important than being able to govern. There is an equivalent to the unclear position of Hesse's SPD in Bonn.

On the one hand, the head of the SPD's parliamentary group in the Bundestag, Hans-Jochen Vogel, advocates partial co-operation with the Greens; on the other, the Bundestag's vice-president, Anne-Marie Renger, refers to the Godesberg Programme to justify her rejection of such co-operation.

The constant to-ings and fro-ings in Hesse are not likely to have a favourable effect on the SPD's chances during the coming state parliament elections in North Rhine-Westphalia.

However, the hesitancy of the SPD in responding to the renewed offer for negotiations by the Greens may be due to a desire not to prejudice future coalition talks in North Rhine-Westphalia, the Saar or Berlin.

All these States could quite easily find themselves in the same boat as Hesse after their elections.

The CDU in Wiesbaden does not feel that the door to an active role in government in Hesse has been shut altogether.

It also awaits the outcome of the local elections.

If after the elections the SPD and the Greens come to some kind of arrange-

Continued on page 9

■ UN ORGANISATIONS

# Unctad in a crisis as top official is dismissed

Frankfurter Rundschau

Unctad, the UN Conference on Trade and Development, is in the throes of crisis at the top.

Gamani Corea of Sri Lanka, Unctad secretary-general for 11 years, was sacked without notice at the end of last year.

A successor has yet to be found, and Unctad is temporarily being run by its No. 3, Alastair McIntyre of Grenada, who was given preference over Corea's immediate deputy, Jan Pronck of the Netherlands.

A wide range of motives lie behind this strange personnel policy pursued by the UN secretariat-general in New York.

Over the years Mr Corea increasingly irked Western governments. The United States in particular grew steadily more critical of Unctad policy. Unctad was set up in 1964 at the developing countries' behest, and Washington has indirectly threatened to pull out.

Legally the position is complicated inasmuch as Unctad is not, strictly speaking, an independent organisation. It is merely a UN standing conference with its own secretariat, which currently has a staff of about 500.

That was the compromise to which the Third World agreed over 20 years ago after originally trying to set up a new world trade organisation in Geneva.

So no-one can resign from Unctad without quitting the UN at the same time. But practical cooperation can be terminated and a country can ignore any agreements reached.

Why does Unctad go so against America's grain? Mr Corea can certainly not be accused of anti-Western extremism. He belongs to a leading Sri Lankan family that has close ties with the present Conservative government in Colombo.

He is a British-educated gentleman whose one overriding passion is golf. He is not given to revolutionary ideas and is most unlikely to feel at all sympathetic toward communism.

All he could be accused of is weak management. He didn't feel at home in the diplomatic battlefield of the Unctad conferences held every three or four years and the many special sessions.

He preferred to dig in as secretary-general and conveyed this impression in dealings with his immediate associates too.

At Unctad 1 in 1964 the newly independent Afro-Asian countries joined forces with Latin America in trying to set up a New International Economic Order.

Gatt, the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade set up by the Western industrialised nations, narrowly averted collapse by opening up to the developing countries.

Raul Prebisch from Argentina, who became the first Unctad secretary-general, stood for the Third World's aims.

His successor, Manuel Perez Guerrero of Venezuela, created a feeble impression and Gamani Corea initially put more pep into Unctad before he was forced to capitulate to the realities.

His stewardship coincided with a period of international economic recession in which the industrialised countries were even less prepared than they had previously been to make concessions to the developing world.

One idea that was shelved during this period was the Common Fund envisaged as buying buffer stocks to stabilise commodity prices and ensure they covered production costs.

Later Unctad conferences constantly reiterated old arguments and failed to make any real headway.

Corea was worn out between the fronts and his departure seemed only a matter of time. Yet the shabby way in which he was sacked still came as a surprise.

Just before Christmas he was informed in a letter from UN secretary-general Perez de Cuellar that his contract, which was to expire at the end of December, would not be renewed. Corea had at least expected a few months' notice in which to prepare for the handover.

"I can look back without anger and not even with sadness," he says, in private of course. He plans to take a year's break, then decide what to do next.

He seems to have no worries about who is to succeed him. "Unctad," he generously says, "would be in good hands run by any of the people whose names have been mentioned."

The ideal candidate would have been Bernard Chidzero, Minister of Finance, Economic Affairs and Planning in Zimbabwe. He knows his Unctad, having worked for years as an Unctad official.

The developing countries look on him as one of their own. The industrialised states respect his balanced judgement. But he is not available.

Zimbabwe's Prime Minister, Robert Mugabe, announced in mid-December that "Super-Minister" Chidzero was indispensable back home.

Alastair McIntyre, who is currently in charge of Unctad, was in line for Prime Minister of Grenada last year.

After the US military intervention on the Caribbean island the search was on for a local man with a clean political record as head of government.

The headhunters hit on the high-ranking Unctad official with his milk coffee-coloured complexion and Grenadian passport.

McIntyre initially showed interest and flew to New York to ask the UN secretary-general to temporarily re[lieve] him of his Unctad job in Geneva.

But eventually he decided the j[ob of] Grenadian Prime Minister by co[urtesy] of Uncle Sam was not as safe a pr[ospect] as a top UN appointment. Sudde[nly he] was seriously ill, only to reappe[ar as] large as life in Geneva a few weeks l[ater].

There are no promising altern[ative] candidates, so he stands a very [good] chance of being formally confirm[ed in] office before long as Unctad secre[tary-]general.

Corea's No. 2, Jan Pronck, a D[utch] Social Democrat and keen supporte[r of] the developing countries' interes[ts in] Unctad, fell into disfavour on acc[ount] of his idealism.

Both Western European and E[ast] Bloc governments felt his "unre[...] advocacy" of interests other than t[hose] of his own country was somehow su[spi]cious. The Americans even see him [as] the advocate of evil ideologies at U[nc]tad.

The Third World would sooner [have] someone from the southern hemisp[here] at the top. It points out that all other i[n]ternational economic bodies are hea[ded] by Westerners: the World Bank by [an] American, the IMF by a Frenchman a[nd] Gatt by a Swiss.

Pronck is felt to be planning to d[raw] the consequences and return to D[utch] domestic politics.

*Pierre Simonitsc[h]*

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 23 January 19[85])

# A mild rebuke for Unesco — or maybe not

Four days before Christmas, Bonn issued a Press statement on the US withdrawal from Unesco, the UN educational, scientific and cultural organisation.

The statement could not have been drier, more restrained or boring.

It was probably written with the express intention of putting people off reading it.

It ended with some crucial information: that Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher had written a letter to the Unesco director-general, Amadou M'Bow.

In his letter, the Press statement noted, Herr Genscher said how gravely upset the Bonn government was by the crisis at Unesco.

For the future of the organisation and Bonn's role in it, decisions reached at the Unesco general conference in Sofia this autumn would be of crucial importance.

However, since the statement avoided giving any details in Herr Genscher's letter, it was thought that it contained a warning shot across Unesco's bows — meaning that, contrary to what Bonn had previously said, that it indeed might pull out of the organisation as well.

Herr Genscher has only himself to blame for this misunderstanding. His letter sounds like the exact opposite of a threat to pull out. It is so mildly worded that it is hardly likely to have caused Mr M'Bow any concern.

Herr Genscher almost too rashly hastened to assure Mr M'Bow that Bonn felt deeply sympathetic toward Unesco's aims.

Bonn had taken part in the reform bids undertaken by the Executive Council and intended to continue doing so.

Anyone who takes that to be a threat to resign is either unable or unwilling to read.

The point that reform bids need to be continued even more keenly, being of crucial importance both for the future of Unesco and for the Federal Republic's future within it, is similarly anything but an ultimatum.

Herr Genscher couches his four-point criticism of Unesco in terms that are, if anything, too restrained. In referring to "an unacceptable degree of alienation" in Unesco activities he seems to have had quantitative, not qualitative shortcomings in mind.

The same may be said of his reference to the "partial departure" from Unesco's brief when in reality the agency's activities have long been alienated from its statutory objectives.

He is too benevolent in referring to mere "tendencies" toward restrictions on the free flow of information rather than talking in terms of a conspiracy to end it entirely.

Only his last criticism is framed in anything like strong language. He refers to the "evident violation" of the requirements of budget economy and administrative efficiency.

Yet Herr Genscher even weakens this point by "noting with approval" that Unesco's reform committee has submitted recommendations for zero budget growth over the next two years.

He goes on to say that agreement has evidently been reached on the need to cut back spending to offset the revenue shortfall caused by the US withdrawal and the prospect of Britain and Singapore pulling out of Unesco at the end of 1985.

It is a letter M. M'Bow can come to terms with and is unlikely to have upset his Christmas holidays. There is no mention whatever of pressure below the threshold of serving notice to quit Unesco.

Nowhere does the letter clearly state or even imply an ominous "or else." Nowhere does it hint that there will be co[nse]quences unless Unesco comes to its se[nses].

Above all, there is no mention of [the] fact that the much-vaunted "consens[us"] is far too infrequent in what is a 16[1-]member organisation and needs inc[titu]tionalising.

That could easily be brought ab[out]. All that is needed is for the exec[utive] committee to be required to make [its] two major recommendations to the g[en]eral conference subject to approval b[y a] high quorum.

It would be enough for the gen[eral] conference only to be authorised to [ac]cept the budget estimates or the p[ro]gramme of Unesco activities once it [had] been approved by an 85-per-cent m[a]jority on the executive committee.

Then, and then only, could the co[n]sensus principle be said to have made [a] real breakthrough.

Yet even though this idea is a fre[]quent topic of conversation within Un[]esco and especially among the Unesc[o] delegations of industrialised countr[ies] whose views are regularly overruled b[y] majority decisions, Herr Gensch[er] made no mention of it whatever.

He merely made a vague reference [to] the need for the programme of activi[ties] to include only projects on which a co[n]sensus is likely to be reached.

He also says the consensus princ[iple] needs to be adopted in budget deba[tes] and voting too. But he fails to menti[on] the most straightforward means of ens[ur]ing it is adopted: a qualified majority [of] 85 per cent on the executive committee.

So Herr Genscher's letter, far fr[om] threatening a Unesco pull-out by Bon[n], virtually does the exact opposite.

Failure to publish the full text of [it] has merely contributed toward [Mr] M'Bow needing to feel even less wor[ri]ed by it and toward Herr Genscher's domestic opponents being able to mak[e] him out to be less than conciliatory.

The truth is that at Unesco in its pres[]ent condition anything less than a str[i]dent note is doomed to go unnoticed.

*Ernst-Otto Maetzke*

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zei[tung] für Deutschland, 22 January 19[85])



EUROPE

# Wanted: a strategy to bring to the councils of Brussels

Frankfurter Rundschau

[T]he European Community must make decisions on a large number [of i]ssues before the end of March.

[W]hat is decided will have far-reaching consequences for Bonn foreign poli[cy]. It will affect expenditure, economic [inte]rests and domestic political prob[lem]s.

[Y]et there are no signs that the gov[ern]ment has learnt from mistakes and [devi]sed a strategy for its representatives [on t]he various Councils of Ministers in [Bru]ssels.

[Fo]r instance the Euro-budget will [thr]ow up various questions. There is the [bud]get clash between the European [Parli]ament and the Council of Minis[ters].

The European Commission will not [be] able to keep paying out committed [mon]ey, especially in agricultural, unless [the] budget is passed.

If the European Parliament is to ap[pro]ve the budget it must first know that [enou]gh money is available.

This year Britain, by the terms of an [agre]ement reached by the 10 heads of [gov]ernment, is entitled to a rebate of [DM]2.25bn on its payments to the Euro[pea]n Community.

[Br]itain and other members of the EC [have] called for the increase from 1 to 1.4 [per c]ent in VAT revenue to be remitted [to B]russels to be brought forward from [198]6 to October 1985.

[Th]at would need to be approved by the 10 national parliaments, and Bonn is determined to have the increase coincide with the accession of Spain and Portugal to the European Community.

It remains to be seen whether, but is far from sure that, pressure exerted in this connection will be sufficient to ensure that membership terms with Spain and Portugal are agreed by the end of March.

Delays could be due to obstinacy on the part of the two would-be new members, while Premier Papandreou of Greece is determined to see his country allocated billions in Mediterranean regional development before Spain and Portugal are given the go-ahead.

Mr Papandreou can refer in this connection to promises made by the other Common Market leaders, arguably somewhat rashly, in March last year.

Even if this dispute ends with a compromise and France and Italy choose not to follow Greece's example, future demands by Spain and Portugal would seem a foregone conclusion.

Portugal is even poorer than Greece, while Spain is not much richer.

What line is Bonn going to take if terms are not agreed by the end of March and Spain and Portugal cannot join the European Community next January? What if they have to wait another six months or a year because of the delay?

Is the increase in VAT revenue to be remitted to Brussels to be postponed accordingly? Has Bonn considered the precedent that would be set if the European Community had to be financed for three successive years with extra funds that aren't its due?

The budget dispute and membership issue will be joined in March by the annual farm price review, and painful though the milk quotas agreed last March may have been for European Community farmers, Common Market milk output is still 10 per cent too high.

The obvious solution would be either to cut back quotas or to reduce price guarantees for butter and milk powder.

As European Community farmers reaped a record grain harvest last year the agreed procedure would be to reduce grain price guarantees by five per cent too. But Bonn Agriculture Minister Kiechle has already warned there must be no more price cuts that hit German farmers.

Bonn Finance Minister Stoltenberg must be aware that these bids to reduce costly European Community agricultural surpluses are doomed to failure in the long run.

Italy as current chairman of the Council of Ministers is delaying the December 1984 decision on surplus wine output until this year's farm price talks, and there are surpluses of other produce besides milk, wine and grain.

Between them they are to blame not only for the European Community's financial problems. They also impose a burden on the world market and annoy industrial customers overseas.

If Herr Kiechle is responsible for, or even approves, farm price decisions that further increase the cost of the Common Agricultural Policy, Bonn will forfeit credibility in advocating budget austerity in Brussels.

Last June the two Ministers eased the burden on German farmers by waiving national tax revenue, but that is a move that can no longer be repeated.

Fellow-members of the European Community will no longer allow Bonn to save money in Brussels while increasing domestic subsidies to German farmers.

That leaves a fourth problem on which Bonn must tread carefully in order not to upset the others unnecessarily. It is that of European Community deadlines for pollution-controlled cars and smokestacks.

A common-sense compromise would seem possible if only Bonn were to adopt a logical, joint approach on this and the other issues.

No matter how popular "going it alone" on environmental issues might be in Germany, it would merely rebound on German interests in many other contexts.

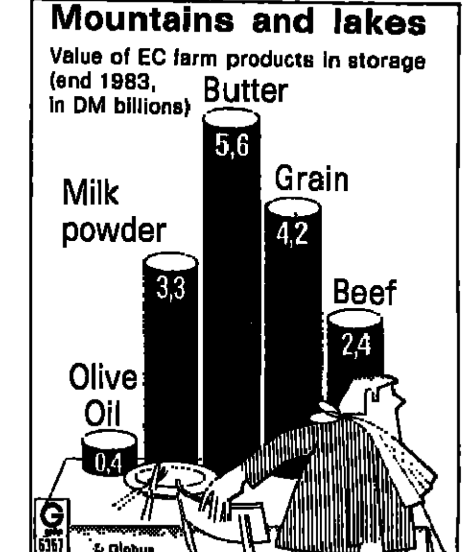
Chancellor Kohl hopes to make headway at the June European summit on political integration and a "citizens' Europe."

He is unlikely to do so unless he has a convincing solution to the immediate issues at the ready.

*Erich Hauser*

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 17 January 1985)






# Farm surpluses likely to keep on rising

Europe's farm surplus is not likely to decline much before 1990. On the contrary, there are likely to be higher surpluses when Spain and Portugal join the EC.

These are the conclusions to be reached from the European Commission's agricultural review for 1984.

Yet despite this, no fundamental changes in the Common Agricultural Policy pursued for 23 years is planned. The review forecasts farm output well above domestic demand even in 1990, with individual surpluses as follows:

- 11 million tonnes of milk,
- 30 million hectolitres of wine,
- 33 million tonnes of grain,
- at least 1.5 million tonnes of sugar
- and about 200,000 tonnes of beef.

If current trends continue, the degree of self-sufficiency will continue to increase for a number of products: from 105 to 127 per cent in respect of grain, for instance, and from 94 to 123 per cent for wine.

The degree of self-sufficiency is likely to remain constant for the various categories of meat, amounting to 100 per cent for both beef, veal and pork.

For poultry a slight decline is forecast: from 112 to 108 per cent by 1990.

Declines are also forecast for dairy products. At present roughly 950,000 tonnes of butter and 700,000 tonnes of skimmed milk powder are in storage.

The Commission says it will again have no choice but to take one million tonnes of fruit and vegetables out of the market and hand them over for processing.

It is also noted that private households are not spending as much of the family budget on food as they were a year ago, spending having declined as a percentage of overall household expenditure from 18.2 to 17.7 per cent over the year.

But the figures differ substantially from country to country. In the Federal Republic of Germany spending on food is down to 15 per cent and continuing to decline.

Growing table wine subsidies seem likely to create problems for the European Community in the near future.

At present there are three criteria on the basis of which wine is distilled into alcohol, with the result that roughly 20 million hectolitres of alcohol are distilled.

No-one can say what is to be done with all this alcohol. It seems unlikely to be put entirely to industrial use, because there are limits to demand.

(Frankfurter Neue Presse, 15 January 1985)

■ TRADE

# Russians want 'tomorrow's technology' from West

Handelsblatt
WIRTSCHAFTS- UND FINANZZEITUNG

Russia wants tomorrow's technology from the West, not today's or yesterday's, it was announced at the thirteenth meeting of the West German-Soviet economic commission in Bonn.

The Russians are interested in increasing contacts with West German small to medium-sized firms.

It was agreed to make the agriculture sector the main point of the next commission meeting so as to improve trade contacts for these small and medium-sized companies with the Soviet Union.

The recent meeting concentrated on the chemicals industry. The Russians also asked that the economic use of resources should also be discussed.

The Russian delegation, led by Alexei Antonov, the deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, was keen to get to know how West Germany had got along with energy saving measures.

The future of the West German-Soviet economic agreement was also discussed.

Antonov, and the head of the West German delegation, Economic Affairs Minister Martin Bangemann, both presented a review of economic developments in their respective countries.

Details were given to Minister Bangemann, and representatives of West German trade and industry such as the president of the Standing Conference of German Chambers of Commerce and Industry, Otto Wolff von Amerongen and Krupp executive Bertholdt Beitz, at first hand the details of the next Soviet five-year plan which is being drawn up currently in Moscow.

It was not expected that concrete decisions would be made at the Bonn meeting. According to experts, however, West German companies are in the running for contracts worth billions that will be discussed with industry representatives at meetings in various West German cities in the immediate future.

It has been reported that West German companies are having discussions with the Russians over projects that are valued at DM18 billion to be concluded between 1986 and 1990.

While on the West German side there was hopes of talks on barter deals, the Russians concentrated on the Cocom list of restrictions on high technology exports to the East Bloc on defence grounds.

The Russians say this list is a hindrance to extending trade relations. The Russians want to buy Western technology of "tomorrow" and not of yesterday or even today.

The West Germans spoke of the list as "a family affair" which could not be negotiated with the Russians.

Antonov had political talks with Chancellor Helmut Kohl and Foreign Affairs Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher.

On Wednesday the Soviet delegation begins a series of visits to companies in various cities in West Germany.

(Handelsblatt, Düsseldorf, 22 January 1985)



Japanese Foreign Minister Shintaro Abe with Bonn Economic Affairs Mi[nister] Martin Bangemann in Tokyo. (Ph[oto] ...)

# Record surplus year, except in business with Japan

**West German foreign trade surpluses climbed to new heights in 1984. But there was a record deficit with Japan. There are a series of reasons for this.**

Martin Bangemann, West German Economic Affairs Minister, has said in Japan that German industry is confident and self-assured.

He told the Japanese Prime Minister, Yasuhiro Nakasone, that there was no more of the "German disease".

Herr Bangemann referred to surveys saying that West German technology matched anything in the world. There was no need to feel inferior in the [face] of Japanese competition.

West German exports to Japan be[tween] January and October last [year] rose 26 per cent. But the deficit, DM9.3 billion, was higher in these months than it had been in the whole of 1983, itself a record deficit year in trade with Japan.

Japanese exports rose even more steeply, however. West German exports to Japan last year were DM5.62 billion, but Japanese exports to West Germany were more than two and a half times greater at DM14.92 billion.

The West German delegation in Tokyo did not see this imbalance as the main problem. Unlike countries such as France and the USA, stubbornly [clinging] to bilateralism, adjusting the flow of goods is not at a premium in West Germany.

Bangemann said in Tokyo that "worldwide, the multilateral balance must tally. This is not the case in Japan."

For years there have also been surpluses in the Japanese services account, development aid and payments to international organisations.

For Bangemann these are an aggravating problem internationally. The enormous export of capital to the United States cannot be balanced in the long term.

West Germany had similar problems at the end of the Economic Miracle in the 1950s. Then the West German government brought pressure to bear on partners for unilateral reductions in customs duties.Japan has applied unilateral measures. In the past three years Toyko has wrapped up three packets of measures improving access to the Japanese market that go way beyond reducing customs duties. They take into consideration the wishes and complaints of Japan's trading partners.

On paper Japanese measures and regulations are today more liberal than those of the European Community. Japanese imports of finished products total 28 per cent. In West Germany and the United States the proportion is about 57 per cent.

This is the consequence of an unfavourable integration of Japan into the international economy, particularly as regards imports. According to the ex-

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# East Bloc deals: Cocom's blacklist tightened up

Frankfurter Allgemeine
ZEITUNG FÜR DEUTSCHLAND

Cocom has revised the list of items that are banned from export to East Bloc countries.

The Coordination Committee for West-East Trade, Cocom, controls the export of items that might help the Communist nations militarily.

Cocom members include Japan and all Nato members except Spain and Iceland.

It decided last year after difficult negotiations to halt supplies of strategically important goods and technical data to the East Bloc by revising the embargo list and improving the control system.

The Cocom black list includes at the moment, for instance, floating docks (could be used by warships), equipment for the production of hovercraft and special technology for metalworking.

Cocom regulations controlling computers, electronic components, software for computers and digitalised telephones were made more specific from 1 January.

These changes will become national legislation in the Federal Republic during the year when the new text has been translated and the Cocom list of numbering has been adjusted to the West German foreign trade statistics numbering system.

Extensions, deletions or new descriptions of the various entries will, as usual, become effective at law by changing the export list of foreign trade regulations.

The latest list now includes a number of new entries in the West German export list of 11 November 1984 which consolidated together all changes since the end of 1981.

Goods embargoed include technical components with detailed descriptions for the construction of uranium enrichment plant, equipment for superalloys on the basis of cobalt and nickel (for the manufacture of turbine blades) aluminium alloys with high tensile strength, certain steel molybdenum alloying or starting materials, ceramics and ceramic composite material for the production of high-temperature compression ceramic products for particular technical purposes.

The adjustments involving electronics go much further than previous list revisions. The export of computers has not been limited in any way. In fact the regulations on home computers, for instance, have been relaxed.

The important change is that checks of electronic exports will be more extensive and more time-consuming.

There is no general prohibition of the export of goods and technical data included in the export list, but the goods now need an export licence.

The appropriate trade office at Eschborn will in future examine licence applications for the export of electronic equipment according to additional criteria that are given in great detail against each entry.

This office is also responsible for export applications for plant that is not included in the embargo list. The office will have the decisive say on a licence application for a computer to be used for plant, for a steelworks or an automated bakery, say, and will decide if it is to be used only for these purposes, or whether the computer could be diverted for East Bloc military purposes.

There has been considerable criticism of these extensive checks. It has been pointed out that the licencing scheme is too complicated. The Economic Affairs Ministry has replied that more exact formulations will be made of the Cocom regulations with clarification of their international use.

In the past five years the volume of embargo checks has doubled to 70,000 applications.

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 22 January 1985)



COOPERATION

# China's sheer size poses awesome problems for development planners

STUTTGARTER ZEITUNG

[C]hina approached the Federal Republic in the late 1970s with the in[tent]ion of picking up German know-[how].

[T]he first result was scholarships for [Chi]nese students and trainees in Ger[many].

[Ti]es with China were also established [by] the Baden-Württemberg Economic [Affa]irs Ministry and the Hanns Seidel [Fou]ndation, which is associated with [the] Bavarian CSU.

[St]ill in the 1970s, the GTZ, a Bonn [gov]ernment agency handling technical [co]operation with the developing world, [bui]lt a seminar on the use of biogas.

But these projects remained piece[me]al until a framework agreement on [tec]hnical cooperation between the two [co]untries was signed in October 1982.

By then about DM15m had been in[ve]sted in technical cooperation with China. In 1983 Bonn pledged a further DM20m, followed in 1984 by DM25m [tow]ard the cost of current and fresh [pro]jects.

The signs are that Bonn will be in[ve]sting more in the years ahead, "in [kee]ping with China's extensive require[me]nts," as GTZ chief executive Hans-[Pet]er Merz puts it in an agency inter[view].

[F]inancial cooperation, as the other [mai]n sphere of development aid is termed, has yet to be undertaken between the two countries.

The Chinese may not appear to have no interest whatever in low-interest loans from Bonn, but German development policymakers have been clearly told in Peking that aid of this kind must not be provided at the expense of other developing countries.

Bonn's budget position would have made it appear advisable to realign the funds available in China's favour. But the Chinese made it clear that wasn't what they wanted.

Yet China's prospects of being granted low-interest German development loans seem to have improved substantially since Chancellor Kohl visited Peking last October.

In Bonn government circles there is talk of a DM50m loan earmarked for China in the 1985 budget estimates.

Yet the emphasis will continue for the foreseeable future to be on technical cooperation, with problems arising that German policymakers fail to encounter in development collaboration with any other Third World country.

At the Bonn Economic Cooperation Ministry China's size and population are mentioned with a note little short of awe. On their account the general run of technical cooperation projects cannot be applied to China.

They are simply not enough to develop entire economic sectors or geographical regions. So the emphasis is either on projects with a high snowball effect or on measures to perceptibly relieve bottlenecks.

Projects proposed by the Chinese have appealed to the Germans since the early days of cooperation. "The Chinese," Herr Merz says, "have very shrewdly included in technical cooperation projects of strategic importance for their country's development."

These first projects to be backed by Bonn include the establishment of a Chinese Patent Office and an institute of management studies in Shanghai.

The Chinese make it clear they have no intention of rushing in headlong. They are well aware that many developing countries discourage foreign investors merely by being unable to provide any guarantees of design protection and quality control.

They are keen to collaborate with the German Industrial Standards Institute (DIN) and to set up quality control institutes similar to the German Technical Supervision Agency (TÜV).

Technical cooperation also concentrates on agriculture and forestry and on energy, especially coal.

German-backed projects help to develop the Chinese dairy trade, which is not yet able to meet domestic demand.

German experts will also be advising the Chinese on angora rabbit husbandry and helping them to keep forest pests under control, while the Chinese are interested in setting up new coal mines.

They also hope German development aid will help them to improve safety precautions down existing pits.

German experts are fulsome in their praise of the Chinese for the way in which they readily agree to run cooperation as smoothly and with as few complications as possible.

At the Foreign Trade Ministry in Peking a coordinator has been appointed as the sole contact for German experts.

The GTZ has no difficulty in recruiting German experts for service in China. It is already clear that China, unlike other developing countries, mainly needs short-term expert backing.

This is a category in which German experts generally spend periods of up to six months overseas. Such short terms mainly make sense because China's level of basic technological development is higher than in, say, African developing countries.

The opportunity of sending experts to China for fairly short tours of duty makes accommodation a less urgent problem.

The Chinese have annoyed their partners in the Federal Republic by charging exorbitant rates for rooms or apartments in what are called friendship hotels.

The GTZ is seriously considering building a hostel of its own in Peking. Yet China remains so attractive to the kind of men and women whose services are required that difficult living and working conditions are unlikely to have deterred anyone.

At the GTZ's head office in Eschborn, near Frankfurt, life in China is said to present something of a challenge to the staff. But language is not an unduly serious problem, at least at work. A number of Chinese project staff speak either English or German.

But in private life German experts in China face social isolation. The country may have opened up to foreign influence in recent years but many Chinese are still afraid of contact with foreigners. Language barriers are a further problem.

German specialists can travel freely by public transport but restrictions are imposed on travel by car.

At the last round of bilateral talks in autumn 1984 the Chinese proposed 25 new projects. Officials at the Economic Cooperation Ministry in Bonn expect German embassy staff in Peking to give them expert consideration.

*Sten Martenson*

(Stuttgarter Zeitung, 2 January 1985)



Continued from page 6

perts Japan is no longer a closed market, but it has the all the signs of being a closed society.

Words such as "Buy domestically produced products", usual in France and Britain, are superfluous in Japan because the Japanese do so anyway.

When Bangemann visited large department stores in Tokyo he noted that foreign manufacturers available on the shelves were very expensive, often to the disadvantage of the exporter who could not hope to sell in quantity at these prices.

This involves a commercial system that is a closed book to a non-Japanese.

The Japanese do not have to struggle with such problems.

Their export offensives, limited to a few products, aim at disruption, bringing markets in other countries into disorder.

They deploy politics and economics together in a unique manner. In this way products for the future are pin-pointed and developed with state aid.

Companies construct enormous production plant whose capacities are directed at world markets. The chances for competitors are limited. Lambsdorff coined the expression protectionism of the third generation that Bangemann has taken up in Tokyo.

It is not a question of competing to succeed with a firm but with the state. World trade has to accept this, one of the main sources of their affluence.

Many states call upon Japan to restrain itself, voluntarily to conclude export limit agreements. This strangles trade and does not solve the problem.

The Japanese can sell their products at higher prices, increasing the use of the ingenuity to plan new products.

From the West German point of view this is no solution, even though it is strongly advocated by other EEC countries. West German companies are more self-assured.

They want to solve the problem by increased exports to Japan. In the past few months several have reported successes.

Whether this is sufficient is questionable. Without a change of heart in Japan itself the smartest programme, currently being pushed, will be of little avail in Tokyo. This needs time, however.

*H.-J. Mahnke*

(Die Welt, Bonn, 10 January 1985)

■ INDUSTRY

# Changing faces of arms manufacturers

Ironworks, munitions factories and shipyards were once this country's great armaments manufacturers. Names like Krupp or Blohm + Voss were synonymous with guns and dreadnoughts.

Things have changed in the age of electronically controlled war with guided missiles, rockets and supersonic aircraft.

This new weapons industry is now heavily concentrated in and around Munich.

It is revealing no secret to say, for instance, that the aviation and aerospace concern, Messerschmitt-Bölkow-Blohm, has become far and away the largest armaments manufacturer in this country, and one of the most active in Europe, with involvement all over the world.

This has meant that in many post-war conflicts, weapons with components made in West Germany have been used.

But MBB, a relatively newcomer, is only the most prominent of these manufacturers.

There are other, older names: Dornier, Krauss-Maffei, Siemens (although only a small part is involved in armaments), Motoren- und Turbinen-Union (formerly BMW aircraft engine producers), one of the most important European manufacturers of aircraft engines, and a big list of small to medium-sized companies.

A domestic armaments industry is part of defence and peace policies for a modern industrialised state such as the Federal Republic. This raises the question of how the industry could be structured for maximum efficiency.

A major issue here concerns whether and to whom Krauss-Maffei, part of the Flick concern, should be sold.

Krauss-Maffei is the most important heavy tank manufacturer for the West German army (and a few other armies as well), mainly because of the *Leopard* tank.

MBB is the most likely buyer. This is a solution vehemently supported by the state of Bavaria mainly because it would mean retaining jobs in Munich in the armaments, aviation and space industries.

But the Bonn Defence Ministry is worried that a sale to MBB might concentrate the industry too much.

It sees a risk in allowing an ever-increasing part of the armaments industry will be falling into the hands of one maker.

The Monopolies Commission also has doubts. It fears that MBB will become too strong.

No direct MBB participation in Krauss-Maffei was proposed in plans recently revealed.

It was suggested a 50-per-cent subsidiary formed by the Bavarian Landesanstalt für Aufbaufinanzierung, the Bayerische Vereins Bank and the Dresdner Bank should act as purchasers — that is banking institutes would have a participation in MBB.

In Ottobrunn no secret is made of the fact that even in this arrangement considerable influence on Krauss-Maffei affairs would be exercised via the back door.

This raises the question as to whether it would not be a better solution to have a direct participation.

But is it so risky having such a concentration of power? In West Germany the whole of the armaments industry only accounts for between two and two and a half per cent of the total manufacture of finished products. there are only a few companies but the concentration is quite normal.

MBB reports that 60 per cent of the concern's turnover of DM5.6 billion is achieved from armaments. That includes being the lead in important programmes — the *Tornado* fighter, at the moment the largest procument programme in the Federal Republic, the helicopter gunships, various types and generations of guided missiles, and recently the largest ever naval contract and in the foreseeable future possibly the construction of tanks (in a roundabout way).

Armaments contracts are no longer given out by the manufacturers' own country. Competition is international. Without dou bt West German procurement policies will in the future ensure that as much as possible top technology will be retained in the country and used. That requires partners who are advanced technically and strong economically. But competition is also needed.

In the preliminary talks about Krauss-Maffei there was talk of "an armaments Moloch". MBB is certainly not an entangling power of this sort. Management in Ottobrunn would do well to save their energies trying to gather more and more power to themselves and where possible to increase their armaments exports. Policies must be kept paramount.

*Volker Wörl*

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, Munich, 21 January 1985)

# Some hiccups, but aerospace is feeling optimistic

West Germany's largest aviation and aerospace concern, Messerschmitt-Bölkow-Blohm (MBB), of Munich, had a nominal increase in turnover last year of 3.5 per cent to almost DM5.9 billion.

In real terms, however, turnover dropped by between two and three per cent.

Armaments accounted for 59 per cent of this turnover, up from 56 per cent.

The company predicted a turnover for 1984 of DM5.8 billion, a drop of six per cent. Growth is not expected until 1987 when important communications programmes begin.

MBB has been able to capture contracts involving the three most important projects of the immediate future, the Airbus A320; the fighter aircraft to succeed the multi-purpose *Tornado*; and the PAH-2 helicopter gunship, a joint project with France.

MBB will have no problem using its full aircraft production capacity.

The most difficult problem are sales by subsidiary Deutsche Airbus GmbH. It is not consolidated into MBB.

Although 355 A300s and A310s Airbuses have been sold, the plant is working short-time and a layoffs will be unavoidable. There are 24 unsold aircraft standing in the hangars.

The second largest company in the sector, the Dornier Group is owned by the

RHEINISCHER MERKUR

family. It had a record drop in turnover in 1983 of 25.4 per cent because of the end of the run assembling the tactical strike fighter Alpha Jet.

But the company, which has plants in Friedrichshafen and Munich, has avoided difficulties because of intensive diversification.

The production programme extends from aircraft manufacture, reconnaissance units and X-ray satellites to locate and medical technology (apparatus to break up kidney stones).

Military contracts that accounted for 51 per cent in 1984 (54 per cent in 1983) will decline even further because of the completion of production of the newly— developed supply aircraft DO 228.

In the coming year turnover should increase to DM1.7 billion, from a total production of DM1.5 billion.

A drop in turnover and costs for the completion of the DO 228 brought about a fall in Dornier profits last year. Nevertheless Dornier profits were well above those for competitor MBB.

Dornier's paid up capital is very low. Taking the balance amount for 1983 and including clients' payments paid up capital for 1983 was a good seventeen per cent, and in MBB own capital increased from eleven to twelve per cent.

MBB's capital position has been considerably improved by the decision to increase this from DM222 million to DM600 million.

The general increase in economic activity in 1983 did not have any direct influence on the aviation and aerospace industry.

The sector increased turnover in 1982 by 10.5 per cent to DM12.7 billion. Of this 49 per cent was accounted for by exports.

In 1983 there was an increase of 3.1 per cent to DM13.1 billion. In real terms the business stagnated, however, and this will be the case in 1984 as well.

No room for expansion is available in the industry because of high interest rates and poor orderbook positions for wide-bodied aircraft and helicopters.

The military hardware sector is beginning to have difficulty filling manufacturing capacity because of limited government funds.

Because of the lack of contracts, the aviation and aerospace industry's labour force of 2.3 per cent in 1983 to 71,500. It is expected to drop further in the next 12 months.

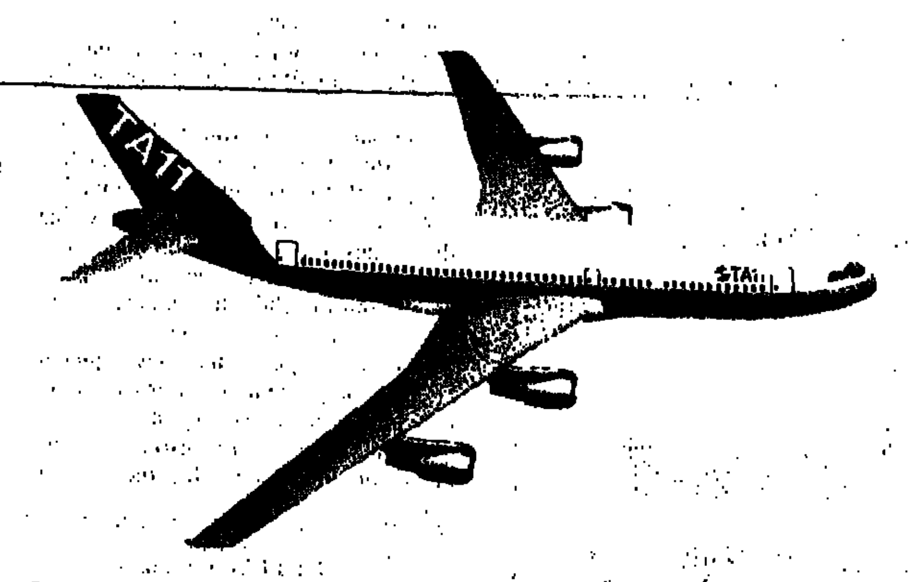
The industry is up to date technologically.

Allocations for research and development account on average for 20 per cent of turnover, as opposed to only three per cent in the processing industries.

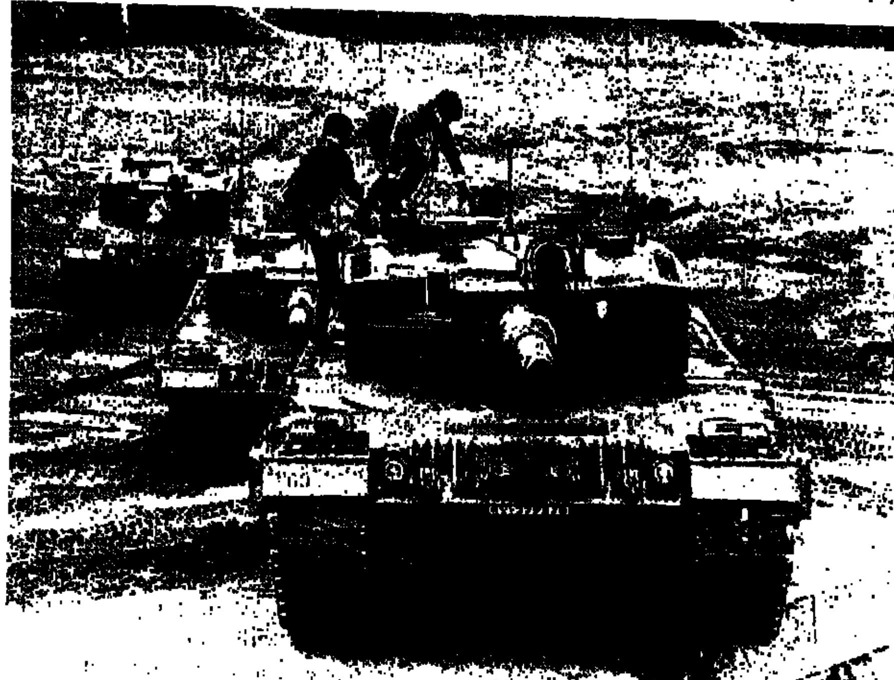
The industry expects that for the coming year capacity use will be about the same as the previous year. In some sectors it will improve.

The federal government's decision to give support for the construction of the new Airbus A320 and the decision to go ahead with the aircraft to succeed the Tornado has given the industry good reason to be optimistic in the long term.

(Rheinischer Merkur/Christ und Welt, Bonn, 21 December 1984)




On the drawing boards with MBB, a member of the Airbus Industrie consortium: the TA11 Airbus planned to have a range of 12,000 kilometres (more than 7,000 miles). (Photo: dpa)



The Leopard 2 heavy tank is used by many armed forces. It is built by Krauss-Maffei. (Photo: Sven Simon)



■ RESEARCH

# German scientists offered place in Nasa comet rendezvous probe

German scientists have been offered the chance of taking part in a space mission to investigate a remote comet.

Nasa, the US National Aeronautics and Space Administration, plans to launch a Mariner Mark II space probe in 1990.

It is intended to fly past one or two asteroids before reaching Kopff's comet in early 1994.

The probe will follow the comet for nearly three years as it orbits the Sun, coming as close as within 30 kilometres of it at one stage.

It will accompany the comet both before and after its perihelion, the point of its orbit at which it is nearest to the Sun, and fire a projectile at it to record data.

The dart-like projectile, or penetrator, is intended to relay the first direct measurements from a celestial body scientists currently envisage as a "dirty snowball" several kilometres in diameter.

"Five Max Planck institutes and an equal number of university departments have shown keen interest in the comet rendezvous project," says Hermann Ulrich Schmidt of the Max Planck Astrophysics Institute in Garching, near Munich.

## Logical step

"Apart from us, and we do theoretical work only, they are the Max Planck Aeronomy Institute in Katlenburg-Lindau (Harz), the Max Planck Chemistry Institute in Mainz, the Max Planck Extraterrestrial Physics Institute in Garching and the Max Planck Nuclear Physics Institute in Heidelberg."

"The Kopff's comet rendezvous," adds Professor Hugo Fechtig of the Max Planck Nuclear Physics Institute, "would be the logical next step in comet research after the European Giotto probe's flypast of Halley's comet."

The Halley project is a space capsule containing 10 measuring devices, five of which were supplied by Max Planck institutes. It is scheduled to fly as close as possible past the nucleus of Halley's comet at 100 times the speed of a bullet on 13 March 1986.

Kopff's comet was named in 1906 after the Heidelberg astronomer who discovered it, August Kopff, 1888-1960. It orbits the Sun in six and a half years.

It has so far been observed by astronomers 12 times at its perihelion, the exception being in 1912.

Kopff's comet is thus a fairly frequent and regular visitor. Its trajectory can be forecast fairly accurately. That is clearly indispensable for a space rendezvous.

US scientists say the Mariner probe would be launched on board a space shuttle in July 1990 and then powered by a Centaur rocket.

There would then be two opportunities of flying past asteroids: on either the 222nd or the 302nd day after take-off.

On the 222nd day it could take a closer look at Namaqua, an asteroid 40km in diameter, then, 140 days later, fly past Lucia, diameter 85km.

On the 302nd day its option would be to take a look at Tanete, diameter 130km.

DEUTSCHES ALLGEMEINES SONNTAGSBLATT

Depending on the trajectory chosen, the space probe would then reach Kopff's comet at the farthest point of its orbit some time early in February 1994.

At this point the comet is about 750 million km away from the Sun and hibernating, as it were. The sunlight is too weak to influence the comet's surface.

This is when the most important part of the rendezvous, observation of the comet's nucleus, is scheduled to take place.

A powerful camera capable of making details as small as 50cm in size identifiable will take photographs of the comet from all angles.

To do so the probe will home in closer and closer on the comet, which according to 1983 observations rotates on its axis every 9.4 hours and is about three kilometres in diameter.

It will first come within 200,000km, then within 5,000km and finally within 50km of the comet, compared by scientists with a "dirty snowball," taking about a month to orbit it.

From this vantage point the penetrator will be aimed and fired at the comet. It is a rocket-powered lancet one metre long and six centimetres in diameter.

Its task is to pass as deeply as possible what is expected to be a surface layer of dust and penetrate the cosmic iceberg.

It will incorporate equipment such as temperature sensors, magnetometers and a gamma ray device designed to relay direct data.

We will then know more about the exact composition and chemical make-up of one of the simplest and possibly oldest bodies in our solar system.

Firing a second projectile has also been suggested. It could penetrate somewhere else, supplying the shock needed to enable the first device to carry out seismic experiments.

Inferences could then be drawn as to the composition of the comet's interior.

The closer the comet comes to the Sun, the more menacing the situation grows for the space probe, with steadily stronger solar radiation heating the comet's surface.

In the process fugitive components evaporate and dust particles are released. At this stage the probe is to be kept well clear and behind the comet and the increasingly dense cloud of dust and gas particles it emits.

From this location scientists hope to observe for the first time how a comet "comes to life." Which particles are emitted first and how? As jets, for instance?

How are what are to begin with inert particles of lifeless matter gradually transformed into an active body shrouded in a gigantic cloud of gas and shedding a tail millions of kilometres long and consisting of electrically charged particles (ions), molecules, gas and dust particles?

On 2 July 1996 Kopff's comet will come within 240 million kilometres of the Sun. It will shine brightly, to an estimated eighth degree, and shed substantial quantities of dust and gas particles.

It should be readily observable from Earth. So measurements taken by the space probe can be compared with readings taken at ground stations.

The probe will continue to keep the comet under observation as it moves further away from the Sun. As currently planned, the mission will be completed on 2 December 1996, or at the latest when it runs out of fuel and no further manoeuvres can be undertaken.

The CRAF, short for Comet Rendezvous Asteroid Flyby, is to be the first housed in a Mariner Mark II capsule.

The Mark II will consist largely on tried and trusted components used in past US space probes and can be assembled in building-block fashion to meet mission requirements.

So the probe could be custom built for further missions to Jupiter or Saturn, say, and the United States has offered to allow the Federal Republic of Germany to use a German-designed motor to power one or several Mariner capsules.

It will need to be a motor capable of functioning on all three space axes. It has yet to be put through its paces and will probably be given an opportunity of doing so in 1986.

Next year, as part of the Galileo project, a joint US-German space probe will move into orbit round Jupiter and be kept on standby for further manoeuvres.

In return for the propulsion unit the United States is offering German scientists a share in measuring equipment or space for measuring equipment of their own on board the comet probe.

Ten experiments with a combined payload of 125kg are envisaged on board the capsule bound for Kopff's comet. Including fuel the capsule will weigh 2.5 tonnes in all.

The mission is expected to cost about $300m at current prices and the Americans expect Germany to pay a fair share of the costs.

Manfred Otterbein of the space research department at the Bonn Research and Technology Ministry sounds a confident note.

"In view of the keen interest in the comet mission shown by German scientists," he says, "we are now trying to make sure funds will be available."

*Eugen Hintsches*

(Deutsches Allgemeines Sonntagsblatt, Hamburg, 13 January 1985)

Continued from page 3

ment, the Hesse CDU would make a renewed coalition offer.

This would put the leader of the SPD in Hesse, Holger Börner, who is already reputed to be seriously considering the idea of a grand coalition with the CDU, in a tight spot.

The SPD is still afraid that any signs of serious coalition discussions with the CDU would frighten off its left-wing voters.

In addition, many SPD members would lose their ministerial posts if the CDU were to become a coalition partner.

Since, as opposed to earlier situations, the CDU has not made its coalition offer dependent on numerous conditions the SPD will find it increasingly difficult to explain its rejection of a grand coalition to its voters.

Nothing would indicate that the Greens would alter their tactics in the event of a new arrangement with the SPD.

Their toleration of an SPD minority cabinet would still be decided on an issue-to-issue basis.

This would mean a constant touch-and-go situation, making it impossible to develop long-term policies.

The SPD can only free itself from this dilemma with the help of a different coalition partner.

For federal-policy reasons, the FDP is out of the question, leaving only the CDU.

Although the situation in Hesse is still far from being a dead-end situation, Börner is going to need the CDU to achieve a long overdue stable government majority.

*Ekkehard Kohrs*

(General-Anzeiger Bonn, 17 January 1985)

# Bonn to join in manned space platform project

Frankfurter Rundschau

Bonn and other European governments are to join forces with the United States in a billion-dollar manned space platform project.

The German government will be honouring a pledge Chancellor Kohl made to President Reagan when he visited the United States last June.

Between 1985 and 1995 about DM4.4bn in taxpayers' money will be earmarked for space projects by the Bonn Ministry of Research and Technology.

Participation in the space platform project is controversial, mainly because the benefits are hard to assess. But Heinz Riesenhuber, CDU, the Bonn Research Minister, is enthusiastic.

He has visions of a space laboratory where new materials can be produced and a space workshop where satellites can be repaired.

Experts disagree on whether only a manned platform can carry out this work or an unmanned one might be equally satisfactory.

Bonn has been guided in its decision less by scientific arguments than by the Chancellor's pledge to the US President.

A point that has yet to be settled is whether Bonn and its European partners will succeed in persuading the Americans to give them unlimited access to mission research findings in return for their contribution toward the project.

No agreement has been reached on this aspect, but Bonn has luckily allowed itself a loophole. After a two-year preparatory phase it will review the terms of project cooperation at the end of 1986.

Only then will it give the final go-ahead for German participation in the mission as a whole.

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 17 January 1985)

■ THE CINEMA

# Imagination, confidence and a variety of screen accents at festival



This year's Saarbrücken film festival was held in cold, wet weather against a background of grey snow. It was the fifth at which the Max Ophüls Prize for the best German-language production by a young film-maker was awarded.

Ophüls, the legendary German film director, was born and bred in the city. So his name was a natural choice for the award.

There is a life-size plaster figure of him seated in a characteristic pose at a Saarbrücken film cafe that is also named after him.

The public response was keen this year, with more festival filmgoers in two days than throughout the 1984 programme.

This interest was no coincidence. It was in response to the above-average quality of the film fare provided. Work screened in Saarbrücken was often of very high quality.

Austria and Switzerland were better represented than in the past. Between them they accounted for over the 30-odd films shown.

There were times when that created difficulties. Saarbrücken audiences had trouble with Swiss German dialect in particular.

But it was also an attraction. The unaccustomed dialect was not dubbed. It was allowed to speak for itself.

Young film-makers were imaginative and self-confident in their work, "young" in this context being a wide-ranging category.

There were experienced professionals who had worked for TV but only just made their first full-length cinema feature film. There were also genuine beginners — film academy graduates.

The range and variety were delightful and the professional character of first films was often impressive. TV was almost always a co-producer.

As for trends and tendencies, the emphasis seemed to be more on carefully observed everyday scenes than on dramatic construction. Straightforward tales were told unsentimentally.

There was no mistaking a keen sense of detail. Young directors are relying more on the effect of their film scenes than on explanatory dialogue.

They are also critically preoccupied with their medium, taking an ironic look at the reality of films.

Heiner Stadler's *King Kongs Faust* is a successful case in point, dealing with the relationship between cinematographic myth and disillusioning reality.

It tells the tale of an unsuccessful freelance film reviewer, Matthies, who at the 1984 Berlin Film Festival sees a German silent film the critics hail as a great discovery.

The unknown director is said to deserve a place in film history and Matthies, sensing a major story, sets out to learn more about him.

The unknown director is said to have worked on *King Kongs Faust* in Hollywood and to have disappeared in Mexico. In Los Angeles the trail proves a red herring, but Matthies refuses to give up.

He puts together a fictional biography in which B. Traven, Trotzki and Eisenstein appear. He personally fashions a cross for the director's alleged grave in a Mexican cemetery.

His tale is a success and eventually Bavaria, the Munich studios, negotiate for the screen rights.

The film is a telling reflection on the mass media, which produce their own reality. It is both absorbing and amusing.

The production of illusion is also dealt with by Fred van der Kooij, a Dutchman living in Switzerland, in his *Schalltod*.

We see someone on the move with half a dozen suitcases and realise after a while that he is a sound effects man on his way to the film studio, a cross between Buster Keaton and Samuel Beckett strikingly played by Peter Wyssbrod.

It is a successful tightrope walk between comedy and tragedy culminating in a duel between two sound effects men in which sound illusions suddenly become real.

*Schalltod*, or Sound Death, is an intelligent and ironic play on the creative possibility of sound. It is a film that relies on sound in a very special way.

Marianne Schäfer's *Tränen in Florenz* (Tears in Florence) is a parody on kitsch, the tale of a melodramatic love affair between a German couturier and an Italian contessa.

It makes such uninhibited use of the full range of trivial clichés that one can but sigh when Christoph Eichhorn sighs on the screen, saying: "My God, how terrible Fate can be!"

It could well prove a successful film, possibly being taken seriously by part of the audience and enjoyed as a satire by others.

The comedy in Milan Dor's *Malambo*, which won a prize in Mannheim last October, is more restrained and sad.

Dor, who has made a number of documentaries for Austrian TV, tells in poetic black-and-white images the tale of a provincial daydreamer who would like to make a name for himself as an escape artist like Houdini.

Oliver Helbrich's screen version of Büchner's *Wodzeck* has unmistakably tragic dimensions. He transposes Büchner's 19th century dramatic tale of the poor soldier to today's industrial Ruhr.

His Wodzeck works in an engineering factory. His Marleen is a sales assistant in a department store.

With unusual imagery and a mastery of colour he draws a convincing link between the classical drama and a modern tale of jealousy.

Seldom does one see such a convincing screen version of a work of literature.

*Raffl*, an Austrian entry directed by Christian Berger, proved a difficult f[ilm] that took an unaccustomed look at th[e] period-piece film. Raffl is a historic fi[gure], a Tyrolean farmer who betrayed rebel leader Andreas Hofer to the French.

Berger paints with sophisticated art[i]fice the portrait of a speechless, passive outsider who becomes a victim of his[to]ry and never realises what is happening to him.

The Saarbrücken Festival this year proved unexpectedly encouraging. De[-]spite the threat posed by the new media work by young film-makers was ex[-]tremely vigorous.

It is a great pity that only a fraction of the films shown will ever be generally released. Many deserve it.

*Peter Paul Huth*

(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 22 January 1985)



Max Ophüls . . . the inspiration. (Photo: ...)

## Who won what

The 1985 Max Ophüls Prize, including a cash award of DM20,000 by the city of Saarbrücken, went to *Raffl*, an Austrian film directed by Christian Berger. *Raffl* shared with another Austrian entry, *Malambo*, directed by Milan Dor, the DM2,000 award of the Interfilm jury. Other awards went to German film-maker Benno Trautmann for his film *Der Todesspringer* and to Helge Weindler as cameraman of another German film, Dominik Graf's *Treffer*. Saarbrücken Mayor Oskar Lafontaine's special award went to *Olle Henry*, the GDR entry directed by Ulrich Weiss.



Milan Dor's comedy, *Malambo*, which employs poetic images to portray the day of a daydreamer, won the Interfilm panel prize at Mannheim. (Photo: Heinz Kersten)

# Strauss criticises German TV for not buying German films

Frankfurter Neue Presse

Bavarian Premier Franz Josef Strauss has called on German television to buy more German films.

Speaking at a film forum in Munich, he accused ARD, the first German channel, of spending money hand-over-fist in America.

He told an audience of politicians, film-makers and representatives of the arts the imbalance between American and European films at cinemas and on TV must not be allowed to worsen.

He said the money spent in America would have been better invested in Germany. "Stimulating creativity in the German market would have been more meaningful," he said, "than the commercial stimulus that has led to American productions selling like hot cakes."

Warmly applauded, he said clashes were in the offing between the domestic film and TV market, meaning German and European productions, and international competition, by which he mainly meant American productions.

Public broadcasting corporations and private enterprise must jointly face the challenge. Battening down the hatches wouldn't work in the long term. He was strongly opposed to quotas.

Protectionism, he said, amounted to expecting Germans to be patriotic and insist on buying German screen flops.

What was needed was greater support for cinemas and specific measures aimed at making distribution more economic. Federal and state government promotional activities must be coordinated.

Herr Strauss also advocated changing the law to make video dealers pay a levy to the Film Promotion Corporation just as cinema-owners did.

Video cassettes must not be allowed to undermine the ban on showing too many cinema films on TV too soon.

*dpa*

(Frankfurter Neue Presse, 22 January 1985)



■ THE ARTS

# Old people's theatre group mixes self-expression with scepticism

DER TAGESSPIEGEL

From the stage comes the words "We are young, we are beautiful," a gymnastic course in a fitness clinic.

The women unwillingly follow the instructions of the gymn teacher. A tremor of pleasure passes through the audience, for those performing on stage are elderly women, none less than sixty.

In fact the women in the early 60s are the youngsters in the group, for the oldest among them, Erna, is 91 and proud of it, for she has the respectful admiration of the others.

During West Berlin's Christmas market the *Spätzünder*, the oldest and best known theatre group of elderly people put on their show *Typenkabinett*.

At a first glance the young and the old juxtaposed against each other it seems there is something in the widespread view that old people can be treated as children.

It is easy to find examples of this — there are the parallels between a kindergarten and an old people's home, evacuation to the country and going on ferry trips to buy duty-free butter.

The old people are looked after, looked after well and badly, but they are no longer taken seriously.

This image is fortunately refuted here, vigorously muddled even, and for this reason the old people are concerned themselves.

To sing "We are young, we are beautiful" is sheer irony. They know only too well themselves that they do not fall into the cliché picture of youth, but is it essential to be young to be beautiful?

They are not all of the same opinion how they should deal with their age. One of them says that she would rather be young, but the most convincing answer to the question the women on the stage offer, particularly the oldest performer Erna: they say that their facial wrinkles rebuke all common ideals of beauty as liers, for their furrows tell of experience in life that cannot be simply taken off the shelves of a perfume shop.

One scene in the piece reflects their occupation with the problem that one has with beauty in old age: the cosmetic studio in the fitness clinic. Here the performers are applied with oitments and creams, plucked and powdered. All the time the cosmetician tells of her experiences: "A face-lift is not going to help much, only a change of attitude."

This ironic exaggeration, sure of a laugh on the stage, makes the public think. Should we have recourse to skin grafts or is it necessary to change our way of thinking?

To say this sentance "We are young, we are beautiful" jumping about on the stage needs not only irony but also self-assurance, for it is said by elderly people.

A heated discussion takes place at the periphery of the performance. How should they be called? Senior citizens, mature or elderly people or straightforward old people?

On a poster for the performance there is "Elderly theatre". One spectator said that no one would come. "Who wants to be old? The old people are the other people."

The argument against is that no one should be ashamed, should try to hide, his or her age, and old people using the expression "rejuventation course" only veil the situation.

Actors have it easier, self-assured, almost militant, to come to terms with their age. Their activities, not their age, are the deciding factor. They have at least found a chance in the theatre that does not let them think that they have become superfluous.The group began four years ago with an advertisement in West Berlin newspapers: "Old people wanted for amateur theatricals group". Eva Bittner placed these advertisements. She was them a student of drama who wanted to investigate if the theory about amateur theatricals that she had learned in her studies worked in practice.

Twenty-five people replied to the advertisement, from which the present group of thirteen woman were sifted.

There are no men among them, because experience has shown that they are not suited to this. Eva Bittner said: "The men do not want to act all the time, but play in the foreground."

Everyone has to have enthusiasm for the theatre. Their motto is better late than never, when they begin to fulfill the dreams of their youth to go on the stage, dreams that were never achieved because of work or family. None of them have had any artistic training, with the exception of one woman.

They were all very much astonished when Eva Bittner suggested that they should not perform a play already written but write one of their own. Their lives are full of stories that would provide enough material for a stage piece.

They were sceptical at the beginning, but in the end they were all convinced they could do it.

They produced the action and the characters in their piece themselves, and they produced the sets and costumes.

They have now produced three plays for the theatre, each of which reflects their experiences — loneliness and assimilation in old age was the theme of the first piece in which they gained stage experience.

The second piece dealt with living conditions for old people and why they did not want to live in an old people's home.

Their last piece had the sub-title "Our contribution to relationships and fairytale research". Famous fairytale characters celebrate their re-awakening in a fitness clinic. Time does not stand still. But Snow White is still endlessly busy looking at herself in a mirror. The Princess is still looking for the pea.

Have we then learned nothing? The question is directed to the spectators. The point here is that the fairytale characters are stereotypes for various women characters.

Then after the last laugh and the applause the actresses ask directly, what's your opinion then? The final discussion is almost as important as the performance itself.

Critism or approval was directed mostly at what had been shown as the way things are on the stage.

"Typical, male," is the view taken of one young who did not help with the housework. His mother always said that she could do it better. "Typical female," he replied.

It is not professional theatre. There is some professionalism but that is not the point. The strength of the *Spätzünder* is their identification with their roles through their personal experiences. The way they play gives the characters life and credibility.

They all have to work together so there is much discussion. It is not an amusement. They do not think of their troupe as an alternative to a coffee morning. The theatre group was not the lifeline that has saved them from passivity.

All the women worked in the professions until they reached retirement age, secretaries, saleswomen, teachers or as head of a wholesale store. They had plenty of interests beforehand, and self-assurance was not a foreign word for them. They have found a new lease on life in the theatre group, which they take just as seriously as they did their job.

They want to pass on to their public the feeling for an exciting and stimulating life. Their message to old people is not to let themselves go during coffee outings. They maintain that there are other things to do, not necessarily just theatre.

Their public is not made up of just elderly people for young people are attracted to the *Spätzünder*. These elderly ladies on the stage have something to say to them too.

One is not suddenly old, but it happens quite gradually and many notice that it is upon them when it is too late to do anything about it.

For this reason people should begin in good time to develop interests. "When you are old no one will come to your door."

They do not lack for audiences. They have been invited on tour to other West German cities, only in West Berlin do they not create much of a stir. The prophet goes unheard in his own land.

But there is no sign of that today. Only one hour is free between the performance and an interview on radio, where it was quickly decided which scenes should be shown, how the group should be introduced. The organisation was very professional.

Of course, they do have their problems. There is often illness among a group of their age, and the death of one actress created a gap that had to be filled. Tensions, that occur in any group, have to be dampened down.

And the cash that the West Berlin Senate makes available for Eva Bittner, their guide and mentor, is made available on the short-term and with difficulties.

After the performance a young man spontaneously said that his anxiety about growing old had diminished since he saw the *Spätzünder*. One good reason why the show should continue.

*Lutz Ehrlich*

(Der Tagesspiegel, Berlin, 6 January 1985)

■ THE ENVIRONMENT

# The day the Ruhr choked in a blanket of smog

Süddeutsche Zeitung

Pollution became so heavy one weekend this month that a smog alarm was called in the industrial Ruhr area.

In some parts, private motoring was even banned.

The weather was abysmal quite apart from the smog. Buses were still running. So were taxis. They had the streets to themselves.

It seemed odd that traffic lights continued to work even though there was scarcely any traffic to take any notice.

Some of the pedestrians, and there weren't many of them, wore makeshift masks.

Pharmacies did a brisk trade in gauze face masks at DM5.45 for a packet of five, although pharmacists say they aren't effective.

One masked pedestrian on Duisburg's Königstrasse even lifted his mask every now and again to take a puff on his cigarette. But he was an exception to the rule.

Throughout the emergency it looked as though it would never really get light — not even on the few occasions when a few feeble rays of sunlight pierced the gloom.

No snow had fallen for a week, and snow that was left on the ground no longer looked white. But it was probably wrong to imagine that weather in the Ruhr was much worse than elsewhere.

Travelling by tram from Düsseldorf to Duisburg there seemed to be no difference between one town and the next. Some passengers had coffee with them and others had clearly not used a tram for a good few years.

One well-dressed lady in the plebeian streetcar spent the entire time poring over the stock market reports in her financial newspaper.

The Ruhr has always squirmed under the reputation of being a place of dark, satanic mills. The smog emergency has given its self-confidence has taken yet another knock.

Ironically, the Ruhr regional authority was on the point of launching an expensive advertising campaign to counteract this longstanding prejudice.

"We're still alive," one leader-writer wrote in a local newspaper. "The Ruhr isn't a cemetery yet." But it was certainly quieter than usual.

For a time, while Stage Three was in force, industry had to shut down in many cases, especially heavy industry.

At Thyssen in Duisburg production at the coking plant was cut back by a quarter, while the steel furnaces reduced their output by 40 per cent.

The smog was no respecter of emergency planning. The mayoress of Hamm was most indignant that her town wasn't classified as smog-hit.

But since Hamm doesn't have pollution measuring facilities she was unable to prove that atmospheric pollution in Hamm was as bad as in the next town.

Düsseldorf in contrast has measurement facilities but isn't included in smog contingency planning. Yet it could lay claim to Stage One pollution levels and one measuring station easily reached Stage Two.

That would have meant a temporary ban on private motoring in Düsseldorf too, but none was imposed. "The ratings weren't on the increase," says municipal environmental protection officer Bernd Abetz, "and we weren't prepared for an emergency."

So in Düsseldorf appeals to the public to leave cars where they were and use public transport remained appeals, whereas elsewhere bans were imposed.

Pollution in cities on the Rhine was little better than in the Ruhr. Klaus Wolf, the ecologist burgomaster of Leverkusen, was shocked to learn that pollution ratings were so bad in the city.

They might not be as bad as in the Ruhr but he felt it wasn't right for cities such as Cologne, Bonn and Leverkusen not to be included in smog contingency plans.

This criticism was unfairly levelled at Herr Friedhelm Farthmann, North Rhine-Westphalia Health Minister.

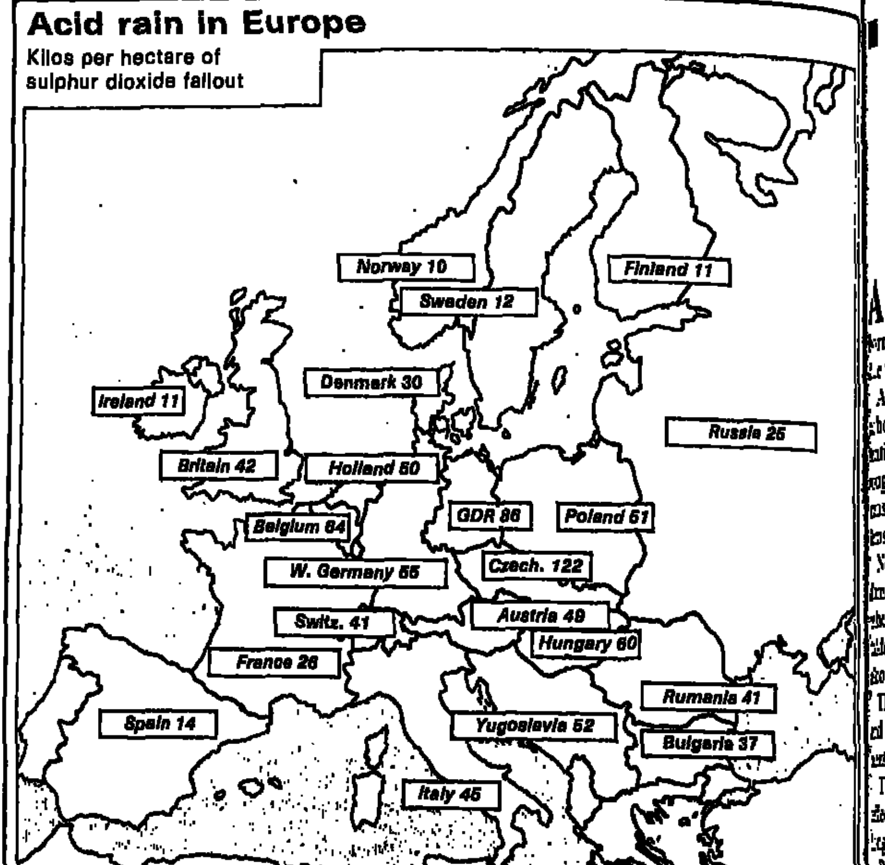
His *Land* was the first *Land* to drastically lower the emergency rating threshold as recommended by *Land* Environment Ministers. There just wasn't enough time, Herr Farthmann says, in which to extend emergency provisions to other areas.

Once fresh air comes over from the Atlantic and blows the smog away there will be a number of questions to answer, such as what the cost to the economy was and who was politically responsible.

So with state assembly elections only a few weeks away, smog could well emerge as a campaign issue.

*Gerd Kröncke*

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, Munich, 21 January 1985)




Brighter things ahead. (Photo: ...)





■ MEDICINE

# 2,000 handicapped babies born every year to alcoholic mothers

Frankfurter Rundschau

At least 2,000 babies a year in the Federal Republic of Germany are born with physical and mental defects due to their mothers being alcoholics.

Alcohol damage in the womb, or alcohol embryopathy, is paid too little attention for a complaint that occurs roughly as often as mongolism and causes similar social and medical problems.

No-one yet knows just how alcohol damage is done to the embryo. Factors other than the high blood count of acetaldehyde, the main toxic by-product of alcohol, are probably involved.

They include the zinc folic acid count and B-group vitamin deficiency of pregnant alcoholics that causes anaemia.

The possibility of an alcoholic father affecting the embryo in the womb, while long debated, has yet to be proved.

Professor Majewski of Düsseldorf, addressing a *Bundesärztekammer* (General Medical Council) forum on the subject held in Cologne, said daily alcohol intake was not the key factor.

Among alcoholics it can amount to the equivalent of up to 110 grams of pure alcohol a day, which is excessive by any account. But what matters seems to be how long the mother-to-be has had an "alcohol problem."

If she is a beginner and in the proximal phase she may drink heavily but still in a controlled manner. The child she may bear will probably be healthy.

But if she has reached the critical stage in which she needs alcohol in the morning and drinks uncontrolledly, the baby is likely to be born with a congenital defect.

Two babies out of 10 born in these conditions are born with defects, and this figure rises to 50 per cent when the mother has reached the chronic stage and has a constant physical and mental need of alcohol.

So Professor Majewski feels termination of pregnancy is justified when the woman is in either the critical or chronic stage of alcoholism.

The extent of deformity will depend on how long she has been in this state, a survey of 24 children of alcoholic mothers has shown. The youngest of several children of an alcoholic mother was invariably the most seriously affected.

Such children are noticeably small and underweight at birth. As they grow older their heads are seen to be much smaller than even their small bodies might lead one to expect.

This microcephalism corresponds to a low brain weight, and 90 per cent of these children are mentally retarded or defective, with IQs of between 66 and 90.

Seriously defective babies also have typical facial features at birth, such as weak chins, short noses and a typical appearance of the upper lip.

They grow out of these features, which are barely noticeable by the time they are 10, but one in three has cardiac defects.

Fifty per cent have abnormities in outward appearance of the genitals, and one in 10 has deformities of the urinary tract and bladder.

Doctors often complain of difficulties in dealing with pregnant alcoholics, who fail to realise they are ill and are far from helpful.

They show tendencies to be passive and dependent and are to some extent hostile toward those who would like to help them.

These characteristics are now known not to be part of their character. They are due to illness. The longer the patient has been an alcoholic, the more serious these characteristics are.

Alcoholism was classified as an illness by the World Health Organisation in 1968, but doctors are only slowly coming round to this view — and to accepting that pregnant alcoholics, like all alcoholics, are unable to act in keeping with reality.

So they cannot be helped by advising them in the same way in which healthy pregnant women are counselled.

The doctor alone will seldom succeed in curing the pregnant alcoholic of her addiction. The best prospect of cure will be when he harnesses the entire welfare network, including clinics and self-help groups.

Case work in Sweden has shown that alcohol embryopathy can at least be reduced by combined efforts of this kind.

At Stockholm's four maternity clinics a team of eight social workers, a psychiatrist, a gynaecologist and a paediatrician are working on the problem.

The project, launched in 1980, seems to be proving effective. By 1983 there was not a single birth in the city that showed signs of alcohol embryopathy.

*Silvia Schattenfroh*

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 19 January 1985)

# Rise in codeine addiction

Codeine, a drug widely used on its own and in compounds to treat coughs, can prove addictive, German pharmacists have been told.

Professor Hermann Roth, of Tübingen, told a refresher course held by their professional body in Davos, Switzerland, an increasing number of juveniles were becoming addicted to the drug.

Codeine, he said, could be converted into morphium in the body by a process known as biotransformation that in this case accounted for the addiction risk.

The process had in the past been felt to be of minor importance, but up to 40 per cent of codeine, he said, could be transformed into morphium in the body.

Cough preparations containing codeine were available on prescription only. Professor Roth said they should be prescribed only in exceptional cases.

He greatly regretted that health insurance funds no longer paid for minor drugs prescribed, such as cough drops and linctus.

The result was that doctors tended to prescribe major drugs, such as codeine and codeine compounds, for which the insurance continued to pay. *dpa*

(Mannheimer Morgen, 15 January 1985)

# Allergy link with temper

People who suffer from allergies tend to be particularly hot-tempered, say Munich scientist Paul Matussek and colleagues at the Max Planck Society's psychopathology and psychotherapy research unit.

In an article in the 3/84 issue of the Journal of Psychosomatic Research they outline the results of psychological tests on 115 patients suffering from depression.

Among depressive patients allergies such as bronchial asthma, eczema, hay fever and urticaria, they report, are accompanied by above-average aggression.

They have yet to decide whether this aggression triggers the allergy or is a consequence of it.

In an earlier article, in the 1/83 issue of Comprehensive Psychiatry, the Munich scientists noted that depressive patients only showed signs of allergic reactions once their gloomy feelings had subsided. *deutscher forschungsdienst*

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, Munich, 10 January 1985)



# New theory about blood tests taken before breakfast

Patients who have blood samples taken for tests are generally asked not to eat breakfast beforehand. Food, they are told, could affect the blood readings.

But latest findings indicate that most blood ratings, such as the enzyme count and the uric acid and cholesterin level, remain largely constant after meals, says a avarian doctor.

Professor Claus-Dieter Bloedner of Bamberg, Coburg and Lichtenfels labour medicine centres makes this claim in an article in the latest issue of the medical journal *Fortschritte der Medizin*.

Tests of over 1,000 patients showed only the triglyceride, or neutral fat, count to increase substantially after food intake (and by up to 50 per cent after alcohol consumption).

In combination with overweight, lack of exercise and stress, a high triglyeride count often leads to blood vessel complaints and thus needs treatment.

The trouble with taking blood samples from patients with empty stomachs, he writes, is that ratings may be considered normal that later in the day increase to critical levels.

Morning levels are by no means typical, representing the values of night, when we neither eat nor drink.

*dpa*

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 3 January 1985)

■ HORIZONS

# Row over pupils who smuggled an East German back to the West

Hamburger Abendblatt

A Marburg headmaster has changed his mind about an incident in which 13 pupils smuggled an East German across the border to West Germany on the bus bringing the class back from a trip to East Germany.

The headmaster, Klaus Teichler, had asked the parents of the pupils involved to keep their children away from the school.He said the episode had endangered everyone on the trip, not just the 13 directly concerned. In protest, three teachers refused to take the class again and a fourth applied to leave the school.

But now, 12 of the pupils are to be allowed back. The 13th, who got into trouble in an incident in East Germany, has decided to leave.

The row spread through the city of Marburg, which has a population of 70,000, including 15,000 university students; and among them, the affair took on an increasingly political character.

Some teachers and pupils oppose any action to help people flee East Germany.

Others fear the pupils' action might result in the school's not being allowed to send parties to East Germany again.

But the pupils of Landschulheim Steinmühle, a private *gymnasium* (high school), were unrepentant.

Teichler said initially the pupils' action had destroyed the relationship of trust between school and parents and pupils.

A more conciliatory attitude towards the suspension might be taken if regret were expressed.

"Regret? Why regret?", asked one pupil involved, a 17-year-old doctor's daughter. "All we've done is help make someone happy."

Another 17-year-old girl, the daughter of a building contractor, could not understand the sharp reaction of the headmaster any more than the other 38 pupils who made the trip.

She said: "We have apologised for the fact that pupils and teachers were placed in danger. But we can't do more than that."

Another pupil said: "It was a spontaneous decision to help. We just didn't see any danger in it."

On the 28th of December, the class visited Wartburg on the last day of its tour in East Germany.

When the 25-year-old would-be refugee saw the tour bus, he approached a group of pupils and said he wanted to go to the West.

So the 13 hatched a plan. As the class went off sight-seeing, one of the girls complained of stomach pains. She remained on the bus and, when the coast was clear, let the escaper in.

He was hidden in storage space behind the back seat and the back window and covered with coats and blankets..

At the border, the East German *Volkspolizei* (people's police) searched the bus but found nothing.

In Marburg, the situation quickly intensified. Three teachers said they did not want to take the class any more in protest and another was said to have resigned.

The pupils hit back by boycotting his class. One boy said: "They're persecuting us. All we've done is to help somebody live in freedom."

The refugee was born in the Marburg area but went to East Germany at the age of seven with his mother to join his father there.

Now the parents of the pupils are trying to get the man, a motor mecha[...] job in Marburg. They say the reactio[n...] the whole affair was like putting [...] children on trial.

They say the escape was motivated [...] humanitarian grounds and not poli[tical] grounds. It was spontaneous and carr[ied] out without teachers and other p[...] knowing anything about it.

The parents were not going to vo[lun]tarily withdraw their children f[rom] school and one father threatened l[egal] action if his child were expelled.

The trip was organised by the Vere[in]igung der Verfolgen des Naziregi[me] (Organisation of Victims of the N[azi] Regime). The school is run by a n[on-]profit making organisation and p[upils] pay 240 marks a month.

Trips to Czechoslovakia and E[ast] Germany are regular events for s[...] pupils.

*Horst Wiso[...]*

(Hamburger Abendblatt, 18 January 1985)

# Ex-Stern editor gives evidence in the Hitler Diaries trial

On 25 April 1983, Peter Koch, then editor of the weekly news magazine, *Stern*, announced publicly the acquisition of "the greatest journalistic scoop since Watergate."

The history of the Third Reich would have to be rewritten, proclaimed Koch at a meeting at the publisher's, Gruner + Jahr.

Now Koch is a witness at the Hitler Diaries trial in which Konrad Kujau and Gerd Heidemann are charged with fraud.

Koch told the court that, at the time, he had no doubt that the diaries were authentic. He said that very quickly after becoming involved in the affair in 1981, he did develop doubts about the various versions of the way the documents were found and subsequently acquired. When he was unable to establish the source, he pushed no further.

He had been upset that the Gruner+Ja[hr] board had let him into the project only [...] after they had been unearthed and he ha[d in]sisted that the other editors, Schmidt a[nd] Gillhausen, also be included.

The three of them had been shown [be]tween 10 and 15 volumes of the materia[l] [...] the sheer amount had convinced Koch [...] they were authentic.

He told the judge that it had all happe[ned] far less dramatically than might be i[m]agined.

Koch had wondered at the beginni[ng] [...] the documents ought to be published, a[nd] if they should, in what form.

His proposal had been to present e[...] page juxtaposed with a depiction of [...] tims of the Nazi regime.

He had found the contents of the dia[ries] to be fairly scanty and had waited with [an]ticipation for the next volume in the e[x]pectation that it would contain more.

He had allowed himself to be infl[uenced] by the web of secrecy spun round [the] whole affair.

Koch, who is now a free-lance journa[list] in Hamburg, said responsibility for pub[li]cation was passed from managemen[t to] the editorial staff at the end of 1982. K[och] had never known the exact sums of mo[ney] involved, although he had assumed th[ey] must be very high.

He assessed the person who obtai[ned] the documents, former *Stern* journa[list] Heidemann, as a man whose strength l[ay] in research. He had always backed Hei[de]mann.

Vague doubts first arose when Koch s[aw] Heidemann's lifestyle becoming increas[ing]ly luxurious.

But he didn't dare mention these dou[bts] because he held his colleague in high este[em].

In answer to a question from the ju[dge] Koch said that to his knowledge Hi[tler] couldn't have kept a diary, but he co[uld] not describe himself as an authority in [the] field.

But expert opinion which had decl[ared] material supplied for comparison as f[...] and the putative diaries as genuine h[ad] hardened his opinion that they were [au]thentic.

Shortly after *Stern* began publishing [the] Hitler Diaries in April 1983, Koch wen[t to] the United States where an expert c[are]fully compared genuine Hitler handwri[ting] with the documents the magazine held.

This authority had been the first to d[is]cover that forged material had been c[om]pared with forged material in the ear[lier] tests.

The hearing continues.

*dpa*

(Kieler Nachrichten, 16 January 1985)

Everyone in the packed public gallery got their money's worth when the Donisl trial began in Munich.

Donisl was, until shut down last year, one of the trendiest places in Munich. It was founded in 1715 and developed a reputation as the place to go if you wanted a beer and *Weisswurst* in the wee small hours.

But now its reputation has changed a little. Police arrested the entire staff of 140 last year and have pressed charges that allege that for years, guests have been robbed, had their pockets picked after being fed knockout drops in their drinks, and defrauded in other ways. It is alleged that slops was regularly served up as beer.

One of the waiters was Rudolf Limmer, 40, who is charged with receiving stolen goods, aggravated robbery, gang robbery, causing bodily injury and fraud.

Herr Limmer is hardly one of the more refined members of gastronomic circles and his choice of language lent the proceedings colour.

In the witness box, he attacked his former colleagues and customers with such boundless enthusiasm and descriptive jargon that the presiding judge felt compelled to interrupt: "Please! We're not at Donisl's now, you know."

Limmer says the charges are a load of rubbish and he had nothing to do with the alleged happenings. He is one of the main accused but swears innocence "by God and all my worldly possessions."

With an income of 5,000 marks a month including tips he had no need to get up to dirty tricks.

# A pack of lies, cries Munich beerhall waiter

He did not dispute that some not very nice things had been happening at Donisl's.

But no wonder! Look at the guests. After 10.30 in the evenings, the place was full of riff-raff. There were bums, pick-pockets, pimps and "ladies the likes of us wouldn't touch with a bargepole."

It was outrageous that people from this booze-sodden setting should want to accuse waiters of being dishonest.

Take "drunken Lisbeth", for example, who you saw sober about as often as you saw a winning lottery ticket.

"Drunken Lisbeth" said in evidence that Limmer with the help of accomplices had first anesthetised her and then robbed her.

When she came to, she had found that her handbag plus 600 marks had gone. So had her her fur coat and two savings accounts books.

Limmer also challenged the evidence of "One-armed Sepp" and said, in a reference to the witness's lifestyle, that his summons to appear at a police interview "must have been delivered to a park bench."

According to "One-armed Sepp", Limmer was the worst of the waiters. He had seen him pick 6,500 marks from the pocket of a Yugoslav.

This was altogether too much for Limmer. Sepp's evidence was nothing else but revenge because he (Limmer) had once caught Sepp stealing.

A third witness who said a gold chain had been torn from his neck as he was forcibly ejected from the premises was described by Limmer as "a nutcase".

Another witness "has got no teeth, but has always got his great trap wide open."

So what about the knockout drops? Limmer didn't know about any of these things. Again he referred the court to Almighty God as a character reference and said: "I have never had any of this filth in my hands."

But he did concede that it was just possible, in view of the dirty pigs around, that something involving such drops had occurred.

Limmer was highly critical of another waiter who hung himself in his cell after being caught stealing red-handed and making a written confession.

The confession described how, among other things, soup in this supposedly swank beer hall had been watered down, food portions had been reduced so the food would go further and slops had been served up as beer.

Limmer did make one odd admission: he said it was his habit to try and wake sleeping guests by pouring a little Tabasco pepper down their throats . The hot spice had an amazingly sobering effect.

The hearing continues.

*Wolf Peter Schaefer*

(Rheinische Post, Düsseldorf, 16 January 1985)



■ FRONTIERS

# 25 years on, how thalidomide babies are coping with life as adults

**[T]he thalidomide tragedy is so readily [reca]lled it is hard to believe it happened [2]5 years ago. Babies whose mothers [ha]d taken thalidomide, a popular seda[tiv]e, during pregnancy were born seri[ous]ly disabled. There are 2,500 thalid[om]ide victims aged between 19 and 25 [in] the Federal Republic of Germany. [Sin]ce the New Year they have been en[tit]led to a higher disability pension. But [how] do they cope with life as thalido[mide] adults?**

[T]he drug, sold in Germany under the brand name Contergan, was an ex[tre]mely popular sedative — not only in [G]ermany but in Argentina, Australia, [Be]lgium, Brazil, France, Ghana, Great [Br]itain, Israel, Italy, Japan, Spain, [Swe]den, Switzerland and the United [Sta]tes.

[I]t was a while before the side-effects [ca]me to light. In return for a good [nig]ht's sleep pregnant women who took [it ga]ve birth to gravely disabled babies.

Thalidomide penetrated the placenta [and] brought about abnormal changes in [the] embryo.

The hardest-hit victims were limbless [bab]ies consisting only of heads and [bod]ies. Some were born both blind and [dea]f as well as having only rudimentary [limb]s.

There are 2,500 thalidomide victims [in] Germany and 180 in the countries [nam]ed earlier, plus 300 who were so hor[rib]ly disabled that they died.

Now, 25 years after thalidomide first [hit] the headlines, the disaster may seem [to] have been forgotten, but the erstwhile [tha]lidomide babies are now young peo[ple] aged 19 to 25.

Life at school and college, friends, [leav]ing home and looking for a job pres[ent] one problem after another.

It was hard work contacting thalido[mi]de victims for this article. They were [di]strustful and afraid. They strongly [dis]liked the idea and were reluctant to [co-]operate.

First they refused, then agreed, then [ref]used again. We were frustrated, espe[cia]lly when, after the first few explana[tor]y remarks, money was mentioned.

"How much are you paying?" they [as]ked. "I know people who are paid a [sma]ll fortune just for spending 10 or 15 [min]utes signing autographs. The TV [pa]ys them, or mass-circulation maga[zin]es."

"I'm not interested in writing a tear[jer]king story."

"That's what they all say. No, no! [Oth]er than for money it's nothing do[ing]."

I arranged to meet Hans, a Bavarian [tha]lidomide victim, in the canteen of a [Mun]ich centre for the disabled. The ap[poi]ntment was made two days before[ha]nd.

Hans, who is unemployed, asks me to [fe]tch the coffee. He talks loudly and [se]lf-assuredly in Bavarian dialect. Peo[ple] sitting nearby turn round and look [...].

I soon realise that Hans has no inten[tio]n of telling me about himself. While I [qui]etly drink my coffee he lets off steam. He is sick and tired of the poor Press [cov]erage. It is all pointless verbiage, he [say]s. "What good does it do me?" he [wa]nts to know.

The conversation grinds to a halt. Suddenly it is quiet. I quickly finish my coffee, realising that the interview is over.

Sabine is another matter. Her room is cosy with its lilac sofa, rustic wooden table, shelves full of books and walls decorated with postcard reproductions of Dutch Impressionist paintings.

She offers me chocolate icecream and a can of Coke. She clearly feels happy and at ease here.

When she talks about her disability and her long experience as a thalidomide victim she does so self-assuredly and vivaciously.

"There are times," says Sabine, a 21-year-old psychology student, "when people ask me what happened — whether I was mangled in a machine or something like that."

She too is Bavarian. Her mother is a housewife, her father a salaried worker. She had endless trouble in Bad Kissingen, which is where she was born.

She was pigeonholed as mentally defective, she says, by virtue of having no arms and one leg shorter than the other. She wasn't allowed to attend an ordinary school.

It was ages before her parents succeeded in getting her enrolled at a normal school. "In those days," she says, "I didn't realise what was happening. At that age you don't really feel disabled."

Gisela Reitner, whose 23-year-old daughter is a thalidomide victim, still recalls with distress the days when the family lived in a small town, population 13,000.

"I kept the pram cover on," she says. "I was so ashamed of my child and suffered terribly."

Her secret fear was that the neighbours might hit on the idea she hadn't wanted the baby and had mutilated it herself.

One day, she says, people came up to her in the street and pulled back the blanket to see what her daughter looked like.

From then on she plucked up the courage to own up to and stand by her daughter — or at least to get used to her, but never to come to terms with the idea. With reference to her parents Sabine says she was very carefully looked after to begin with. That alone set her apart from other children in her class at school. "My parents never let me go to school unaccompanied. There was always someone to take me there and bring me back." Then came the change. Her primary school teacher was convinced Sabine was a very bright girl who ought to be given every encouragement. She moved to Munich and the Dante Gymnasium, a high school specially catering for disabled students.

**Thalidomide victim Gregor Gehrenkemper (left) was called on stage to sing a number with rock star Chuck Berry during a concert in Munich.** (Photo: amw)

"It was tough," she now admits, "switching straight from the ghetto to everyday life." And everyday life, she says, can be brutish.

During break, for instance, she used to unpack her sandwiches with her toes. Suddenly a group of children would start whispering in the playground and she no longer felt like eating.

Petra, 23, is a cartoonist and studies at a private art school. Her arms are very short.

She has developed her own way of dealing with the unpredictable behaviour of people who aren't handicapped. She tries to be provocative. "A year ago," she says, "I had my hair cut off and my head shaven."

When she goes out she wears a short black leather jacket, paratroopers' boots and either a denim overall or jeans.

"If people are going to look stupidly, then let 'em have their money's worth," she says, "and now I have a Walkman I don't notice them and can't hear what they say."

For the past year she has also gone in for self-defence — taekwon-do training. "It is reassuring when you are out on your own and know you can look after yourself if anyone gets fresh," she says.

Harald, a 22-year-old law student, only realised he was disabled as a 14-year-old. "It was during puberty. I felt I would never get a job and never have a girl of my own."

He withdrew from others and kept to himself. "I was afraid of being hurt," he says.

Georg, an informatics student, says: "I was 16 when I realised I was in a bad way because girls weren't interested in me." But he decided that: "One of these days they'll come to realise that disability isn't everything."

Harald plucked up the courage to take dancing lessons as a 15-year-old. He got to know many people and sensed that he was fully accepted and liked or disliked just like anyone else.

At 18 Georg got to know Maria, who was two years younger and not handicapped. "We had known each other longer, but that was when it clicked. We have since done almost everything together." His relationship with Maria gives him peace of mind, he says. "I was panic-stricken once when we went through a rough patch."

Difficulties arose when Maria wanted him to meet her parents. Her mother felt very unsure of herself.

"A friendship between a thalidomide victim and someone who isn't handicapped just can't last," she said. "You have to be careful. What if they have children?"

Sabine now has many friends. "It's like being in the pub," she explains. "If you wait for him to speak to you, you can wait till you're blue in the face. You just have to be the first to break the ice."

But not all thalidomide victims have succeeded as readily as Sabine has in leaving home and starting out in life on her own, says Dr Renate Langendscheidt of a Munich home for the disabled.

"Many just fail to come to terms with the many problems. They feel they must do something very special, something totally out of the ordinary." Many drift toward drugs or Oriental philosophy.

Parents are also unable to come to terms with children leaving home to start lives of their own. "I gave up my job for my daughter," says Frau Reitner, "and saw bringing her up as my sole purpose in life."

It cost her a great deal of strength, and now her daughter wants to leave home she finds it hard to let her go.

Sabine in contrast gets on well with her parents. "Sooner or later they realised I had to manage on my own. I can't just go away and hide," she says.

Thalidomide needn't be unique, she points out. There may be ample mention of pre-natal care, but few people are really aware of the environmental influences to which they are exposed and the risks they run.

Public relations work in this sector is inadequate, she says. "We thalidomide victims ought to be a warning."

*Christian Schwalbach*

(Lübecker Nachrichten, 13 January 1985)

## The case

Proceedings against the manufacturers of thalidomide lasted six years. The court case took three years. Then, on 18 December 1970, the German manufacturers, Grünenthal, agreed to pay the victims DM100m. The case was settled without a verdict. Special legislation was passed and the Bonn government contributed a further DM100m. Victims have since been paid a pension from a special endowment fund. Pensions went up by 10 per cent in the New Year. That, for the time being, is the end of a sad story. Yet it began so well. Thalidomide, discovered in the early 1950s, was felt to be an ideal sedative and soporific. Unlike many other drugs it first seemed to have no side-effects whatever. It was marketed from 1957 and sold in many countries, in Germany under the brand name Contergan.